The Influence of French Literature on Europe

An Historical Research Reference of Literary Value To Students in Universities, Normal Schools, And Junior Colleges.

BY

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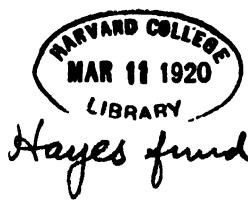

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A Madame Luise Rostand Jammes,
qui m' inspiré cet livre .

PREFACE

The mission of this little work is to bring before the reader the influence that the life and thought of the French people, as shown in their literature, have had upon the world.

Not only many of the scientific discoveries, but also some of the most brilliant ideas in literature have been accredited to other nations, although they are French in their origin.

The purpose of this book is to trace the influence of France from her earliest days to the present time, and to inspire the reader with a real love for the French people.

The French people so brilliant, so courageous, so full of animation and vim are a people whom we to-day especially wish to know. The literature helps us to understand and to appreciate them. It tells us what they thought, how they lived, how they fought, and what they did. The French *esprit* and culture come to us through their literary works. Nowhere else do we find such living wit such love for order, beauty, and clearness of style. The French show a constant tendency to please even when contradicting. They have an original aptitude for sociability, which has endeared them to other nations. The phrases and sentences, as well as words of the French introduced into the English during the Norman Conquest, have had much to do in giving the English a refining tone. For in a subtle way, every language grows to associate with itself the thoughts and aspirations of the people with whose

lives it is inextricably inter-woven. So the French, breathing an air of extreme culture and refinement has permeated our language with the same culture. Ever since the early dawn of civilization, the French people full of ready wit, creative imagination, and spirit have led the literary world.

It is the desire of the author to inculcate in the minds of the young students a real love for that which is French. —a love for the creative art and the genius *d' esprit* of the French, a love for the French people, their language and literature.

The college and university students will find here in this little work of historical literary research material for the writing of themes and essays on the subject of France and what she has given to the world. In order that the student may read more widely on this subject, ample references to larger and more complete works have been given. May the reader be inspired to read many of the French works on the subject of the greater freedom for which we are now fighting!

It has been said justly, "Every man has two countries—his own and France," *tout homme a deux pays, le sien et puis la France*—Bounier. This is true now more than ever when France has become a part of us in the great struggle for freedom, in the struggle for world-wide Democracy,—the freedom where the individual shall be educated as a unit and shall be encouraged to think and act for himself,—a freedom where a man can grow and expand only by striving to lift others up to a higher plane of thinking and living,—a freedom which shall indeed

lead to *Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité,*—a freedom based on tolerance, harmony, and peace everlasting.

France through her wonderful literature has shown us how to live, through her undaunted courage she has set us an example of how to fight, and through her wonderful bravery has shown us how to die. It was a French mother who after losing six sons in this present war for freedom said, "I gave my six sons for the liberty of France. I am sorry I have not a seventh one to give."

The author wishes to express her sincere gratitude to those whose eminent scholarship has been of great aid in the writing of this book, Dr. Robert L. Fleury, Kathryn Monroney Ray, M. A., and Dr. Ida Kruse Mc Farlance, of Denver University. The writer would also thank those other friends who have as kindly, though in a minor degree, helped with suggestions and advice in the publication of this work.

E. M. J.

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THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH LITERATURE ON EUROPE

THE NAME OF FRANCE

Give us a name to fill the mind
With the shining thoughts that lead mankind,
The glory of learning, the joy of art,—
A name that tells of a splendid part
In the long, long toil and the strenuous fight
Of the human race to win its way
From the feudal darkness into the day
Of Freedom, Brotherhood, Equal Right,—
A name like a star, a name of light.
I give you France!

—Henry Van Dyke

The Influence of French Literature on Europe

CHAPTER I

First Period

Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

THROUGH the medium of the French, the epic of the Celtic and Graeco-Roman traditions was rejuvenated and transformed into the German epic. The ideas of chivalry coming from the French find expression in the minnesongs of the twelfth century. In them we find the aristocratic ideas of life portrayed. These laid the foundation of public life in that time. It is from the French that the chivalric ideal gets its supreme poetic expression. The extreme idea of individuality has its roots in humanism introduced by the French and taken up and advanced by Goethe and Kant.

The German *Rolandslied* is almost a direct imitation of the French *Chanson de Roland.* However, the *Chanson de Roland* is full of patriotic love and intense enthusiasm for "sweet France" and her great heroes. It is in itself a beautiful testimony of the growth of French national feeling. The *Rolandslied* lacks greatly in vim and enthusiasm, as is apt to be the case with imitators.

The provincial troubadour song was the direct inspiration of the minnesong. It is due to those beautiful troubadour songs that we have the rich and full-sounding German lyrical verse, which so nicely shows the poetic and chivalrous conception of love, seen in the minnesong. The court epic of which the *Nibelungen Lied* is a good example, is an outgrowth of chivalrous songs which were inspired by the French troubadours. These German epics came from foreign traditions and were made to charm the ladies and gentlemen of the aristocracy who admired gallantry and were well versed in court manners. France was the land and home of cavaliers, and from there the ideas of gallantry as well as the poetical traditions had been brought into Germany. In these lyrics we find the chivalrous spirit at its height. In the poems for court society, we find a direct imitation of French court manners, the striving to cultivate a sense for class distinction and conventionalties. We find in them all kinds of French fashionable sports and so cannot doubt that the French were the originators. Were it not for the French chivalric period, we should not have had the beautiful stories of Wolfram's *Parcival* or Gottfried's Tristam.

France always has distinguished herself for learning. As far back as 771, when Charles the Great was king of France and Emperor of the West, he established an academy in his palace Aix-la-Chapelle, and he himself attended the sittings. By his liberality he attracted the most distinguished scholars to his court.[1] France then flourished in learning; she was already richer in books and in scholars

1. *Crown's Encyclopaedia.*

than any other country at the time. She was even then sending her beacon lights of learning into all parts of the world. The great men of Germany came to Paris to discuss questions of education.

Charles the Great in his long reign of forty-six years, spread French learning and culture over many lands. Let us quote from *Nelson's Encyclopaedia*: "He conducted or directed fifty-three expeditions, and warred against twelve nations." Again: "He encouraged agriculture, commerce, and industry, both by precept and example. Himself no mean scholar, he welcomed to his court men of learning such as Alcuin and Eginhard, established schools, promoted great public works, built splendid palaces and in every way showed that he had the heart and the brain to rule the realms his military genius had won."[2]

According to some scholars no one of the ancients could be placed above him, and the age in which he lived could not show his equal in learning and talent.

The didactic and narrative poetry of the fourteenth century can also be traced to the French. These poems, which in many respects show that they are an outgrowth of the minnesong, inspired by the French troubadours, as we have seen, were not intended to amuse and to flatter court society, but rather to instruct the people in general in the mysteries of human nature and character. They may be said to be an amusing and instructive caricature of human nature and society. It is an effort to picture human character as developed under the everyday influences and experiences. "The *Reinike de Vas,* is plainly the develop-

2. See also Mullenger's *The Schools of Charles the Great.*

ment of the animal epic from the *Ecbasis Captivi* and *Isengrimas* through the French *Roman de Renart* and *Isengrimes Not,* by Heinrich des Gichesaere to the *Roman van den vos Reinaerde* by the Flemish poet Willena and from there to the low German *Reinike,* and still further into the modern high German *Reinike Fuchs* by Goethe. In these stories Sir Isengrim, the wolf, afterwards created earl of Pikewood in the beast-epic of *Reynard the Fox* typifies the Barons and Reynard, the church. The gist of the story is to show how Reynard over-reaches his uncle the wolf.

"The origin of this comic and satirical production is involved, like most fables of the kind, in considerable doubt and perplexity. The earliest printed German copy would appear to have been that of 1498 which is in the dialect of the lower Saxony, though there was a Dutch romance in prose, bearing the same title *Histoire* by the Reynart de Vos, published at Delft, in 1485. The former one of 1498 was afterward translated into high German and also into Latin. It has been referred to many individuals as the author,—most commonly to Henry von Alkina but that his was not the first of the kind would appear from his preface, in which he merely assumes the merit of its translation. Nicholas Baumann, who is stated to have written it as a satire upon the Chancellor of the Duke Julius, is another author to whom it has with less authority, however, been attributed, his addition bearing no earlier date than 1522. In the translation it is stated to have been borrowed from the Italian and French tongues, but its individual origin is not pointed out. It is so far left in doubt, whether the German author copied from the Dutch pub-

lications at Delft, where the sole remaining copy is still, or whether both were translated or imitated from the French or some more hidden material of which the manuscripts have perished."—T. Roscoe.

In the French these narrative poems are far more naïve than we find them in the latter imitations, which would go to prove that they were originally French. The credit we give the French here is important, as their stories are the forerunners of the modern realistic novels which we at the present day seek for so ardently. In *Reinike* we find a great many incidents and situations drawn for the purpose of showing the emptiness and voidness of the conventionalities of society. We find the respect for all kinds of human beings, the sympathy for the innocent and lowly, the hatred for arbitrary power, and the respect for wisdom rather than cunning; in fact, we find the same realistic tendencies which mark our present time. Hence, while we may say that these animal epics contain too much of the weirdness of the animal nature to be real portrayals of human character, yet in the modern novel we see the same endeavor to show the ridiculous side of conventionality where it is not backed by common sense and a desire to suppress unjust oppression and power; and we can but draw the conclusion that the modern realistic novel takes its roots in these same narrative poems.

nothing about England, Italy, Spain

CHAPTER II

SECOND PERIOD, 1273-1494

The Renaissance

THOUGH the Renaissance began in Italy, yet it was through the French[1] that it spread so rapidly through the Western continent. Fischart's paraphrase of Rabelais's *Gargantua* shows the effect of the French Renaissance upon Germany in particular. The Renaissance was a great declaration of independence. It was a breaking away from the old set of rules and a returning to the true classic art. In art, it called forth the masterpieces of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and da Vinci. In religion, it led the way to the Reformation. In philosophy, it overthrew scholasticism. In politics, it abolished feudalism by giving inspiration to independence of thought and action and by calling forth the sentiment of nationality, and preparing the foundation for a constitutional government. In classic art Italy took the lead, yet it was France that brought this art into Germany, England, and Spain. This she did the more easily because she had intimate relations with these countries in wars and commerce. "France having at last escaped from the disastrous English wars, showed her marvelous powers of recuperation. Nor was she behind in art. In the reign of Louis XII, the domestic architecture of the early

1. "To Italy first and then from Italy to France and throughout the whole of Western Europe." Guizot, *Concise History of France*, p. 265.

Renaissance style reached, perhaps, its highest point of excellence before it became over-refined with ornaments and overloaded with luxuries; for instance, witness the eastern façade of the Chateau of Blais, and part of the Chateau of Amboise. While so renowned were the glass painters of France, that Julian II, sent for the artists Claude and William de Marseille, to help decorate the windows of the Vatican."[2]

Germany was, no doubt, most deeply affected by the Reformation, especially on the religious and ecclesiastical side, yet in the wider sense of the Reformation it was France that took the lead. Jacques Lefevre of Etables may fairly claim the title of Father of the French Protestantism. When he was a lecturer on theology in Paris in 1512, he had taught in a commentary on the Epistles of Saint Paul, the doctrine of justification by faith five years before Luther had denounced indulgences. The same year under the patronage of Briconnet, the Bishop, he had collected a small band of men at Meaux in Champagne, of whom Farel of Dauphine was the most important and had also influenced Berquin, a nobleman and courtier, who was the friend of Erasmus. The University of the Sorbonne and also the Parliament of Paris opposed these new teachings of freedom of thought and action; but Francis I, who had started the College de France, stood firmly by the Protestants. His staunch support and the influence of the new college strengthened the cause of the Protestants greatly in spite of the jealousy of the Sorbonne. Francis was so much in love with the new movement that he appointed Lefevre as tutor to his children. Calvin and

2. See Johnson's *History of Modern Europe*, pp. 90-91.

Zwingli were the two great leaders in the movement for the Reformation. It was their writings which were written in French and translated into German that stirred up the people to an assertion of freedom of thought and worship. Calvin's works were not only of value because of their influence upon the Reformation movement, but also because of their high literary value. His works were translated into many languages and were scattered over all of Europe. "In 1535 he dedicated his *Institutes* to Francis I in the hope of convincing the king that his doctrines were not dangerous, and from that moment the French rapidly assimilated the teachings of their great countryman."[3]

In philosophy France took the lead. The Renaissance led to the spirit of criticism which was especially strong in France. Francis I was so much interested in literature and philosophy that he wanted to establish a school of literature and philosophy with Erasmus at the head.[4]

Louis XII and Francis I were both in sympathy with learning to a high degree. Under Louis XIV France reached its supremacy.[5]

In politics again it is France that leads.[6] Lodge says that in 1273 as in 1313 Germany was a mere bundle of States under a nominal head, while France had received

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3. Johnson's *Sixteenth Century History*, p. 389.

4. Johnson, p. 388.

5. France was the first to feel a sense of real national unity and to build a constitutional government, p. 518 Johnson.

6. In no other period have the distinguishing characteristics of French intellect and ingenious method, logical sequence of ideas and lucidity of style been so conspicuous, p. 64, *The* **Cambridge Modern Hist.**

a strong national organization under the rule of Philip IV. Germany, on the other hand, was retarded for nearly a hundred years on account of the religious quarrels which resulted in the Thirty Years' War. During this period many new schools and universities were built all over France. We owe the greatest and most important result of the Renaissance to France, and that is the union and not the antagonism of morality and culture. From the union comes a higher idea of morality than that brought by compulsion. This higher morality is alone suited to the free mind and free conscience of the thinking individual.

Francesco Petrarca (1304-1341), one of the first to lead in this new movement, was an Italian, yet he had lived in France and had studied the people and had become inspired by their love for freedom. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375)a Florentine poet and statesman, who in his *Decameron*[7] shows great enthusiasm for the Renaissance, was French on his mother's side.[8] It was chiefly her independent way of thinking, and her fine sunny temperament as well as her thirst for learning that gave inspiration to Boccaccio's works.[9] His mother kept always before him

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7. Chaucer borrowed many of the plots of the *Canterbury Tales* from the *Decameron,* and through Chaucer and other writers Boccaccio has influenced the whole world of latter English literature. Lodge, p. 523.

8. The claim of Boccaccio's birthplace being Paris has been supposed and supported by Baldelli and Tiraboschi mainly on the ground that his mother was a lady of good family in that city where she met Boccaccio's father. *Britannica Encyclopaedia,* volume IV, p. 102.

9. Boccaccio was a great lover of Greek literature. In his *Decameron* he displays a contempt for superstition and narrowness in religion and shows a vivid delight in life which cannot be found in the literature of the middle ages.

the truly beautiful, and placed him under every influence for refinement and culture. The two great leaders in the Renaissance were Politianus and Victorious. The former taught Latin literature in Florence; he wrote Latin verse with exquisite beauty of expression and was noted for strength and originality of style. The latter was one of the greatest philologists and critics of his time. As these leaders were Italians, we must credit Italy with the beginning of the new learning. France[10] being so closely related to her in commerce and trade naturally caught the very first breath of the Renaissance and was the one to carry it to Germany, England and Spain. The Renaissance which has been termed a love for the things of the intellect and the imagination for their own sake, was especially taken up by the French with enthusiasm. They have ever displayed a vivid imagination and a great zeal for high, intellectual things.

In the period of the Renaissance we may mention Rabelais, famous for his wonderful mastery of the French language. He used an immense vocabulary to which he added a large contribution of technical terms of all arts and sciences. It is said of him that he used words derived from the Greek and Latin and all the dialects then spoken in France. His two famous works are *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* which were read in many countries and pro-

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Boccaccio was in France, and the youthful impressions which he received in Paris, as well as the knowledge of French were of considerable influence in his later career. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica* under *Boccaccio.*

10. We have now to speak of France which was the first to absorb the influence of the Italian revival. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Vol. XXIII, p. 90.

duced a great effect on Germany. Rabelais was a genius and a true representative of the times in which he lived, and as such he came to be read and studied by other nations. A literary critic has said of him that to know Rabelais was to know what the sixteenth century was thinking and talking about. He had a great intellect and was very humorous and witty. He possessed that satirical *esprit gaulois* which the French claim to have to a great extent. Rabelais was well versed in the classics of Latin and Greek and also in the modern Italian writers.[11]

In Germany, Fischart, who at once recognized the merit of Rabelais's *Gargantua* made a deep study of it, and then wrote a paraphrase of it. Fischart also had a fine vocabulary and imitated Rabelais very well in his descriptive style. In order to see the difference clearly between the *Gargantua* of Rabelais and Fischart's imitation of it, we will quote Francke's *German Literature*: "Where Rabelais is grotesque, Fischart is absurd; where Rabelais paints with a pencil, Fischart paints with a broom; where Rabelais has one illustration, the German has ten." Then he goes on to say that Fischart lacks in power to select. Yet with all the defects of Fischart's imitation, he nevertheless did a great work, for he brought Rabelais's *Gargantua* before the German people, and made them know it as they would not have known it without him. Scholars who read the *Gargantua* naturally wanted to read the *Paraphrase,* and those who read the *Paraphrase* wanted to read the *Gargantua,* and so they set themselves to work to learn the French language with more zeal than they had ever done

11. Dante in his *Divine Comedy* was the first to give literary form to verse in a modern tongue.

before.

Ronsard, the great French poet, in his renewed style of poetry was immensely admired by Opitz who imitated him closely.[12] Ronsard believed that poetry should not deviate from certain fixed rules of form; such for instance as the Alexandrian verse. Opitz who thought Ronsard absolutely correct, now followed him and so introduced this style into Germany; and the minor poets, in their turn followed him. That Ronsard was deeply impressed with the idea of the Renaissance, we see from the fact that when he wrote *Defense et Illustration de la langue francaise,* he brought out in it that the perfection of French poetry could be attained only by the imitation of the Latin and the Greek classics. The seven literary stars of which Ronsard was the leader then made a code of rules for poetry. By these rules, poetry should be measured; that is, good French poetry must come up to the rules set by these men. Opitz was considered the leader of poetic taste in Germany and, as he made their style his pattern, he introduced their style into Germany.

Malherbe, who is called the father of perfect French poetry is one of the most important leaders of this period. The French called him the *"Reformateur du Parnasse francais."* Malherbe had such confidence in himself that he convinced others that he was right. He loved literary discussions, and would most boldly declare *that* to be right, or *this* to be wrong. He claimed to be a master on questions of grammar, literature, and versification. No

12. *Opitz führte nach dem Vorgange der Franzosen den eintönigen Alexandriner ein. Kluge's Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur,* p. 90.

doubt the main reason that his poetry is called perfect is that he is the first to keep up a sustained dignity of style all through his poems. He is extremely accurate in rhyme, lofty in his poetic taste, and keeps the style in harmony with the thought. This is why the poetry in France became fixed, at least as to style, through him. This is what Boileau says of him:

Enfin Malherbe vint, et, le premier en France,
D'un mot mis en place enseigna le pouvoir,
Et reduisit la muse aux regles du devoir.
Par ce sage ecrivain la langue reparée,
N'offrit plus rien de rude a l'oreille epurée
Les stances avec grace apprirent a tomber,
Et le vers sur le vers n'osa plus enjamber.

He preferred to write a sentence twenty times rather than to leave it imperfect to his excellent taste. The story is told of him that he wanted to write a letter of condolence to a dear friend who had lost his wife, but it took him so long to obtain the wished-for elegance of style that his friend had again married and so was no longer in need of the condolence. He was great as a lyric poet but still greater as a writer of odes. He was lofty and ideal in thought and deep in feeling. This may be seen in *Stances à du Perrier sur la mort de sa fille.*

French was commonly read in Germany and in England at this time, although Italian was not read. It was, therefore, through the French masterpieces that the spirit of the Renaissance was carried into the other countries. The German and English poets carefully studied the style set by these great masters and they too became imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance. We must also mention Cal-

vin who wrote in Latin but also a great deal in French. His works were ardently studied in Germany because of his views on religion. One of his greatest works is *L'institution Cretienne.* This is a skilful and eloquent plea for the doctrine of the Reformation. His style is so clear, energetic, and at the same time so noble that no prose writer of his time surpassed him, unless it was Rabelais. At this time, the influence of French Literature was very great as France was then considered the best place for scholars to meet. Men of learning flocked there from all countries.

Schools and colleges were being built everywhere. The great and learned scholars met in palace halls and private parlours to discuss the great questions of the new learning. The College de France, established by Francis I in 1530, offered shelter and protection to many great and earnest scholars, who thus meeting together in the common interests of a liberal education formed the French School of Classical Philosophy. This school was noted everywhere for its clear and accurate criticism, and its extensive encyclopaedic knowledge. There were men from all over the world there who discussed questions of learning. Among the French, we may note Adrien Turnabe, the greatest Greek scholar of his time; Denis Lambin, Director of the Royal Printing Establishment; Bernard de Montfaucon, who was the founder of scientific Palæography; Mark Antoine Muret, who was one of the greatest stylists ever known; and Isaac Causabon, who was one of the greatest scholars of his time. Who can measure the influence of the thoughts and writings of a school of such men upon Europe? Causabon was Professor of Greek at Geneva where he met many of the greatest German scholars. Later

he went to England where he wielded an unequaled influence through his theological and classical scholarship. He wrote many works on ecclesiastical freedom, among them his great work *Exercitationes Contra Baronium*. King James I was very fond of him and made him great in court circles. DuCange's books were collected by the government and put in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris where scholars may now see and consult them. Bernard Montfaucon has done a real and lasting service to the world by his works on archæology. The effect of the culture and refinement of these scholars, who met at this school went out into all parts of the world. Then we must certainly mention Causabon, Justus Lipsius, and Joseph Scalinger who were called the Triumvirate because intellectually they towered above all their contemporaries. It was in the year of 1855, that Jacob Bernys of Berlin and Mark Pattison of Oxford made a close study of Scalinger and thus propagated French thought and culture in two countries at the same time. It is of great importance to note that the two countries are, at the same time, interested in the followers of the French school of two centuries before, and should now seriously study the French masters.

Desiderius Erasmus,[13] though Dutch by birth, was reared in France and educated there. It was he who was to interpret the great intellectual movement of the Renaissance to the great thinkers of the northern part of Europe. This great scholar and leader among the intellectual men was a master of Latin and many other languages. He was one of the greatest humanists of his time, and was the

13. Erasmus, 1466-1536.

representative of humanism. Erasmus made it his task to unite Southern culture to Northern strength and energy, and to give education such a high place in the minds of right-thinking men and women that all great and learned people could come together without any passport other than the cachet of a thorough education.

Erasmus wielded a great influence over England. He visited Oxford and met there many great men of culture, whom he inspired with his ideas on the new Learning. He preferred the University of Paris, however, and returned there to write and to study. Here he made a paraphrase of the New Testament, which was received in England with much applause. A translation was made in 1548 and ordered to be placed in all parish churches beside the Bible. His correspondence is of most permanent value. There are three thousand letters which are a series of dialogues, written first for pupils in the early Paris days as formulas for polite address and conversation. These letters were read in schools as forms of correct French.[14] John Colet at Oxford was eager to introduce as many of Erasmus's works as possible, since he so much admired him as a scholar.[15] In this way his books were either read in French or translated into English.

14. *Encyclopaedia Britanica,* Vol. IX, p. 732.

15. In 1495 Erasmus entered Paris University, where he studied many years. He then went to Oxford, but soon returned because he was not satisfied with the English schools. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Volume IX.

CHAPTER III

Third Period

Seventeenth Century

JUST as in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the freedom and fervour of the Renaissance of France spread through Germany, England, and Spain, so, in the seventeenth century absolutism was broken up, and a new and all absorbing thought was introduced. It was the idea of special attention to style. We already have seen that perfection of style was started in the last century, and that Malherbe was the father of perfect poetry. This perfection of style was sought after earnestly at the time. Germany, as well as the rest of Europe, now adopted the French way of putting together high-sounding words merely to please idle courtiers and arbitrary princes. The seventeenth century marks the foundation of the French Academy which was but a year before the publication of Corneille's *Cid*.[1] The passionate tragedy had a marked effect upon the court society, and affected the German theatre at Hamburg. The French tragedy was greatly

1. "As had been her lot in the thirteenth century so now again in the seventeenth France was unanimously acclaimed the intellectual sovereign of Europe; all eyes being turned towards her, and all ears listening for her action. The predominant influence of French literature is everywhere perceptible; for a while its prestige blocked the way and arrested the action of every individual impulse, every national movement, in the literary history of every nation." Cambridge's *Modern History*, Vol. V, p. 70.

admired and ardently sought after by the Germans until Lessing's time. He introduced the German theatre.

The Academy advanced scholasticism which is important to note, as it was in France that this movement began, and where it found its greatest growth and development. The early history of scholasticism is the gradual growth of learning in Europe after the Dark Ages. It began with Alcuin and the Palace Schools of Charles the Great. Many of the leaders in this movement were foreigners, and yet because of the leadership of France in thought and the renown of its university, most foreigners settled there. The works of these men so characteristically French naturally helped spread the influence of scholasticism in their countries more rapidly than would have been the case without the foreigners. Through the period of the Renaissance, Humanism was emphasized. Through the seventeenth century a new Humanism became very prominent. Rationalism as well as Humanism[2] can be traced to the early schools of the French.[3]

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2. Under Humanism in France, in the Britannica we find: "While the necessities of antagonism to papal Rome made it assume at first the form of narrow and sectarian opposition, it marked in fact a struggle of the intellect towards truth and freedom, involving future results of scepticism and rationalistic audacity from which its earlier champions shrank." Encyclo. Brit. under Humanism.

3. Alcuin one of the first humanists was teaching in the school of Charles the Great. "Charles the Great caused a scheme of humanistic education to be formulated and gave employment at his court to rhetoricians, of whom Alcuin was the most considerable." Encyclopaedia Brit., Vol. 23. Johannes Scotus, or Erigena, the first noteworthy philosopher of the Scholastic period, was Scotch by nationality but was called to France by Charles the Bald. Ueberweg's Hist. of Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 358.

Descartes and Voltaire, and even long before them, Erasmus took up this movement in France, and brought the effect of this new learning to bear especially on Germany and England. Rationalism was an attempt to carry out by means of natural sciences what Humanism had begun in its way through literature. It was a thorough examination of the outer and inner world before the high tribunal of reason, *die reine Vernunft.* It led man to seek a real understanding of the universe. It was the cause of the intellectual scepticism of Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists. This movement greatly affected the intellectual and thinking people of Germany, where it became the prevailing form of thought in the German universities in the eighteenth century. Erasmus had followed the philosophy of the ancients, and had studied their writings and teachings closely; he had found reason in Plato.

Descartes found it in one self-evident proposition, the analytic judgment, which is already in the mind of man himself and which places the construction of the whole internal and external world upon a firm basis. Descartes accepted all authority for truth from the statement, "I think, therefore I am." Thus Descartes left the philosophy of the ancients and introduced a new philosophy. He also gave us a new physical interpretation of the world and systematized thought. Wright said that the character of this new learning is *la recherche et l'expression de la verité.* Imagination becomes auxiliary to reason. His chief works are: *Discours de la Methode,*[4] *Les Meditationes de prima*

4. *"Sans les mesures de M. Picard, jamais Newton n'eut fait ses découvertes sur l'attraction."* Voltaire's Letter to Milord Hervey, p. 78.

philosophia, Principia philosophiae, and *Traite des passion de l'ame.* Descartes may be said to be the father of modern philosophy, and certainly later writers of philosophy were influenced by him. "Even Newton,[5] to whom the science of the eighteenth century looked up, might not have developed, as he did, his mathematical discoveries concerning the universe, without the mechanism of Descartes's cosmology."—Wright's History of French Literature, p. 323.

Descartes's great work *LeMonde* was not printed. "By 1633, Descartes had completed a work of the amplest scope and pretentions. It was of an evolutionary character. 'Give me space and movement,' he proclaimed, 'and I will construct the Universe.' He asked only for space and movement because he regarded matter as being virtually identical with space, since it possessed no essential property except that of extension. From a boundless chaos, endowed with a fixed quantity of movement, the world was accordingly to spring, the manner of distribution of the movement prescribing the fashion of its growth. The hypothesis, it is true, was crude in its conception and structurally unsound, yet it marked the beginning of scientific cosmogony. No occult influences or ambushed phantoms were tolerated in it; it gave the *coup de grace* to the obscurely sentient world-soul of the Platonic cosmos. The agencies which it invoked were of a frankly mechanical nature. Their action was indeed designed, but the plan of preparations had been laid down once for all in the dark abysm of time. And the plan was assumed

5. "Few books deserve better than this one to be called 'epoch-making.'" *Edinburgh Review,* Vol. 204, p. 167.

to have been wrought out according to laws intelligible to human reason. In its original shape, the Cartesian *Monde* never saw the light. Just as he was about to send it to press, the author was thunderstruck by the intelligence that Galileo had been condemned at Rome for promulgating views which he had adopted as unquestionably true. Because of his loyalty to the Universal Church, he suppressed the treatise in which he had embodied what he held to be a momentous message to mankind, and made his début as an author with the famous *Discours de la Methode* printed at Leiden in 1637." Edinburgh Review, vol. 204, p. 167.

The philosophy of Descartes was taught in the German universities about a century later. Many of Descartes's works could not be printed in France as he had to have the *imprimateur* of the king. Therefore, much that the king did not wish to have published and which he intended to suppress by not giving his signature to it, was taken to Holland and Germany and printed there. In this way much of the best in literature was sent to Germany, and still more to Holland. Many great men went to foreign lands to live. This may account for the many French family names we find in Germany and England to this day. Thus French influence spread rapidly, and the great works of Descartes were scattered farther and farther. Here we learn, too, that suppression does not suppress. Just as a hurricane takes up the good seed and scatters it far and wide, so the very choicest literature in France was scattered over many countries because of the intention to suppress it. Whatever is great and good cannot be suppressed, but will, in its own time, bear tenfold fruit.

The influence of Descartes was not only on Germany and Holland, but was also strongly felt in Sweden. Queen Christina persuaded him to come to Stockholm where he spent much time discussing Rationalism at the court. He believed in perfect freedom of reason, maintained that no one should accept a statement as true unless he knew it to be true or could prove it to be true. He wanted to place knowledge on a firm foundation and to broaden its scope. He created the dogmatism of a general impersonal Reason.

Victor Cousin said of Descartes. *"Il n'y a point de chimeres dans Descartes. Il se trompe souvent, mais il ne rêve jamais."* Cousin's History of Philosophy, p. 405.

Pascal, who was one of the greatest of the Jansenist prose writers, also greatly influenced the literature of the seventeenth century. It is said that his many-sided intellect touched almost every phase of the life of this century. He had a great mind for mathematical studies and made profound discoveries therein, and also carried on great scientific investigations. His *Lettres provinciales* play an important rôle in the history of Jansenism. These letters were full of sharpest and bitterest satire against the Jesuits. The *Pensees* the summing up of *Pascal's* thoughts is one of the masterpieces of French literature. This great work on religion produced a great effect on Lessing and though he differed in his views on that subject on many points, yet in his *Good Templar* in *Nathan der Weise*[6] we

6. *"On reconnait a chaque page le libre et sincère essor d'une grande âme vers Dieu, et l'on suit l'écrivain avec une anxiété pleine de terreur à travers ce long drame religieux. C'est par l'âme que Pascal est grand comme homme et comme écrivain, . . . et son styleest, comme son ame, d'une beauté incomparable."* Helene Lange, History of French Literture, p. 39.

find many thoughts of Pascal carried out in his style. His work *Nouvelles Experiences touchant le Vide* was an anathema to the Jesuits who preferred to stand by the old idea that Nature abhors a vacuum rather than Pascal's new idea and scientific explanations. Scientists in general became all the more interested in Pascal's new ideas.

In his work on religion he leaves form behind and seeks a pure and exalted devotion of the soul to God.[7] Descartes's and Ronsard's works especially influenced Germany at this period. Opitz and Gottsched were the dictators of literary taste in Germany and both were entirely under the influence of the masters of French literature.[8] In the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, these two leaders as well as their contemporaries steeped their very souls in the French writings both prose and poetry. Whatever the French wrote was supposed to be absolutely perfect both in style and form. Opitz (1597-1639) advocated the direct imitation of the French writers of his time. He adopted the Alexandrian verse which

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7. In *Nathan der Weise* we find the same thought that it is not doctrine nor church, but the truly noble and pure in man's soul that is acceptable unto God and unto men of high ideals. Let us quote from *Nathan der Weise:*

Nathan: "Was heiszt denn Volk? Sind Christ und Jude eher Christ und Jude als Mensch? Ah! wenn ich einen mehr in Euch gefunden hätte, demes g'nüt ein Mensch zu heiszen!"

Tempelherr: "Ja, bei Gott, das habt Ihr, . . . Eure Hand.' Ich schäme mich, Euch einen Augenblick verkannt zu haben."

Nathan: "Und ich bin stolz darauf. Nur das Gemeine verkennt man selten."

Tempelherr: "Und das Seltene vergiszt man schwerlich."— Lessing's *Nathan.*

8. See Wilhelm Scherer's *History of German Literature,* Under Opitz and also Gottsched.

was then in vogue. He studied the French models carefully, but the trouble was that Opitz, in attempting to write for German people, could not reach their views nor tastes by the French way. The French being a flowery language in itself was suited to such elegance of style and expression as the German people could neither reach nor appreciate. Gottsched did the same thing; he also forced his writings into the trim and elegant style of the French and followed the French models closely. Both lack sadly the ease and elegance so innate to the French mind and so conspicuous in the French versification and even of the prose of that time.[9] Yet, like children, the people of other nations craved what was not theirs by nature.

This elegance was so much sought after and admired by the Germans that the French literature became the one all-absorbing theme of the writers of that time. Every one who considered himself a writer at all now set himself to learning French thoroughly, and read zealously everything he could get hold of. He fairly steeped his soul and brains in the French literature. In this way the French literature wielded an all overpowering influence over Germany. Under this influence the German attained to something of a formal respectability as to form which at that time was.

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9. "In Germany this influence lasted for a century . . . mention must be made of Martin Opitz, who following the example of his Dutch master Daniel Heinsus, had imbibed the leading principles of French literature in such a degree as to earn for himself the name of the 'German Malherbe'; he was pronounced partisan of the system of imitation, and far more like Ronsard than Malherbe, he strove to introduce into the literature of his own country the distinguishing beauties of every other literature." *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. V, p. 68.

counted as the supreme test of poetic ability. It is needless to say that while the French polish made the French writers popular and useful, this same style adopted by another people and for another people was not a success. We soon find that neither Gottsched nor Opitz show much real appreciation for the true spirit of poetry. They wandered from the truth as is always the case with imitations. They lost what little originality they had started with. They sacrificed their own individuality without making a success of the one they were trying so hard to adopt. Literature at this epoch became a slave to aristocracy. This was the aim of French and this was so adopted by the rest of the world. With these men, poetry became a play with empty though well-sounding words,—beautiful in form but lacking in spirit. Both of them, however, brought much that was valuable from the French into German. Perhaps that which was of the greatest value was, that the Germans in studying the French so much, became richer in thought and broader in their views of real literary value and poetic merit.

Gottsched kept ever before his eyes the French masters of the time of Louis XIV and so greatly widened the horizon of the German literature. Opitz somewhat limited himself to Ronsard and his contemporaries, but was a disciple of Horace and insisted upon the imitation of nature as the principal idea and form of poetic expression and thus brought this element into German. This element was well suited to the naïve and childlike German mind, and no doubt helped to improve their poetry. The greatest good, however, may have come from the inspiration that many a minor writer got from reading the French. The cul-

ture derived from the French is inestimably great as every one who pretended to have an education now learned to read and write French. At this time, as we have seen, France was especially rich in the classics, and so all educated people derived the benefit and the refining influence of the great thoughts and the lofty ideals of these writers.

Latter Half of the Seventeenth Century, The Golden Age

As we come to consider the latter half of the seventeenth century and the French writers who wielded an immense influence upon other countries, we come indeed to the golden age of the French literature, and to the time when France fairly ruled the world. Great works were produced for the comic as well, and for the tragic stage. Here we find *Misanthrope, Le Tartuffe, Iphigenie, Atalie, The Fables of Fontaine, L'Art Poetic, Le Telemaque,* the letters of Mme. Sevigne, *Oraisons funebres* of Boussuet, and innumerable others, all of which are eternal masterpieces, each in its own way.

German, English and Spanish culture demanded that one should know French and how fitting for this time! How well Germany, especially, was now prepared to absorb all the good produced in France. Many spoke French as easily and correctly as German, and some even preferred it to their own language. How they banqueted in French literature! We come now to Moliere, *le prince des poetes comiques,* as the French people love to call him. He is certainly one of the writers who belong to all the world as well as to France, because he has painted humanity in such a manner that it may be recognized in all

times and all places.

Moliere in his *Le Misanthrope* criticises the society of his time. In his *Tartuffe,* he paints hypocrisy in religion. In these we see that he is not only a comic writer but a great philosopher as well.

Louis XIV was a friend of his and when Philip V, grandson of Louis the XIV, came to be sovereign in Spain, all of Spain came directly under the influence of the French masters of this period.

Moliere's *Ecole des Femmes* produced a literary war and caused showers of paper bullets of the brain to fly all over Europe. Who can measure such a mind set into motion? Moliere broke away from the artificial haughtiness of the school of his day. Lessing did the same thing a little later, and although he wished to drive the French from the German stage, he, nevertheless, had made a deep study of these writers. We cannot doubt that he was greatly influenced by Moliere's idea of naturalness in writing, for he seems to follow out that same idea in his criticisms on the Hamburg literary circles. In Moliere's *Les Precieuses Ridicules,* we recognize an attack on the over-refinement and affectation of the original, natural manners and impulses of the society of the Hotel Rambuild, then a school. He advocated naturalness as the supreme law of writing, and he sincerely hated bombast, pretention, and hypocrisy. He was the first to turn from the ideal to the realities of the world.

His *Tartuffe* was very much admired by Goethe and no doubt called forth many of his realistic views in his *Wilhelm Meister's Wander und Lehrjahre.* As has been said of Moliere in his *Tartuffe, il frappe la fausse devotion et*

l'hypocrisie; so we also find the same irony against false religion in Goethe's *Lehrjahre.* We also see a strong resemblance between the hypocritic and crafty Tartuffe and the world-wise and selfish Jarno.

Corneille's great works, *Le Cid, Horace, Cinna, Polyeucte, Pompee, Rodogune—Le Menteur,* were also of great importance in this golden age of literature. It was in vain that the minister Richelieu made the Academy condemn *le Cid,* for it nevertheless met with universal applause. And the well known expression *beau comme le Cid* became the popular remark for the height of admiration for anything that was especially beautiful and fine. We might also quote Boileau's words here on the Cid:

En vain contre le Cid un ministre se ligue,
Tout Paris pour Chimène a les yeux de Rodrigue.

These masterpieces were greatly admired by the Germans, who were still far behind in drama.

To show how the French drama led in advance on the stage, let us quote from Francke's *History of German Literature.* "Nothing shows more clearly the provincial narrowness of German life at the end of the seventeenth century than the fact that at the same time when Moliere's dramas from the Paris stage were speaking to the whole civilized world, the foremost German dramatist, Wiese, saw himself confined to the cloisterly walls of the Gymnasium at Zittam, with his college boys as actors, and their parents and patrons as spectators."

At the end of this period, the French plays of Corneille, Moliere, and Racine rushed in full force upon the Ger-

man stage, and remained there until Lessing destroyed them and set up a national German idea of theatre. It was in 1760 that Lessing appeared along the literary horizon, and administered such a mighty blow to the *goût français* that the influence of French on German literature almost died out.

La Fontaine, so charmingly humorous, met with the greatest success in his fables. He gives a pleasant and graceful air to all subjects, even the most serious ones. La Fontaine was not only an admirable painter of the nature and the world of animals, but also showed a profound understanding of the human heart and character. Everything his characters do and say in these little animal dramas are true to human nature and take their source from human character. In them we find the most natural things for humans to do and say, and think. His style is admirably naïve and simple. He is acquainted with nature at first hand and gives it to us in the same way. With the exception of Moliere, he is said to be the least conventional writer of the classical school.

He was so naïve that he quite suited the German temperament and they studied him closely. La Fontaine is the father of the German fabulists.[10] He was a true lover of nature and he understood more about all trees and flowers than all the learned courtiers of Louis XIV with all their conventionalities and learning. La Fontaine saw lessons for men in animals. He said, *"Je me sers*

10. "And, for a moment we feel impelled to call from oblivion the worthy and gentil Fabulist Gellert who derived almost as much inspiration from La Fontaine as from his own kindly nature." *The Cambridge Modern History,* Vol. V, p. 68.

d' animaux pour instruir ℊ les hommes." No doubt La Fontaine, like Boileau, was a satirist, who by means of his fables, intended to attack the men of his time. Certainly his animals do act like the men of his time, whether this was LaFontaine's intention or not. But men of his time were much as men are now; that is, human nature does not change much and if it be a satire, it fits for all nations and all times, at least in the main points. That La Fontaine was read and loved by Germans is a well known fact. That the German fabulists made him their direct pattern is evident from the close resemblance of their stories to his in matter, form, and style. The influence of these stories on the literature of other countries also has been very great.

La Fontaine's Fables[11] are full of charming simplicity such as the child loves. The stories are fresh and vivid and hold his attention to the last. The art with which these stories are told is of the greatest interest to the earnest student of literature, while the philosopher admires the subtle satire and the keen reflections on human interests and character which are so wonderfully portrayed there.

Fenelon, who was entrusted with missionary work in the Southwest, was a marvelous teacher who attracted his pupils to him and who was loved beyond all measure by them. It was for an educational purpose he wrote his

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11. The book, that is LaFontaine's Fables, "has naturally become the standard reading book of French, both at home and abroad, a position which it shares on verse with the Telemaque of Fenelon in prose. It is no small testimony to its merit that not even this use or misuse has interfered with its popularity." Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 16, p. 71.

chief literary work the *Telemaque*. It was intended especially for his pupil, the duke of Bourgogne. His *Telemaque* was translated and read in all Germany. His most important work relating to women is the *Traite de l'education des filles*.[12] This book was read by all young girls in Germany as well as in France. Fenelon's idea was that the women of his time were not well brought up. He scorned the affectation of *bel esprit* but also did not admire the really serious, that is the higher learning, in women. He advocated, that a girl should be educated for her mission in life, that is,—to be a good wife and housekeeper. Fénelon says in his *Telemaque, "Antiope est douce, simple et sage"* (Atiope is sweet, simple and wise. Her hands do not disdain labor, she knows how to be silent, and how to act quickly and yet without hurry; she is always occupied and is never embarrassed because everything is as it should be and in its right place. The good order of the house of her father is her glory. She has many other attractions besides that of beauty. . . etc.) Hence Fenelon's ideas were naturally appreciated by all Europe and every girl whether she knew French or not must read his books and so they produced a great effect not only upon the individual but also upon the girls' schools.[13]

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12. *"La Fontaine se mit, par les choses les plus simples, presque a cote des hommes sublimes de son siecle."* Helene Lange's *History of French Literature.*

13. "Fenélon's Treatise on the education of girls, was the first systematic attempt ever made to deal with that subject as a whole, and hence it was probably the most influential of all Fenélon's books, and guided French ideas on that question all through the eighteenth century." Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 7, Vol. XVI.

Boileau expounded the theory of poetry and by his countrymen he was called the *legislateur du Parnasse,* The classic school deemed his style full of "dignity, measure, reason and taste." He was said to have brought literature down from heaven to earth, down from the aristocracy to the common people. His sharp attacks upon the Jesuits made him read and known in Germany and England. He also was read widely in Spain but not at all admired there. The keen satire and sharp wit of Boileau, we must all admire. He was sometimes called the modern Horace. Boileau pleads for reason rather than imagination; he goes on in the way of Malherbe and brings verse and prose together. He advocates the realism of the classical school. Boileau's works are of great merit as they defined the theory of Classicism so well that this became a model for all Europe.[14] His *Lutrin* is a very spirited satire on a certain class of the clerical people. This work was greatly admired by Pope who imitated it in his *Dunciad.*[15]

Racine, whom the French have said to be *"le plus parfait des poetes tragiques de la France,"* was especially noted for his rich and melodious verses, as well as for his skill in dramatic construction and his keen analysis of passions. The beautiful stories of *Esther* and *Athalie* have been translated into many languages and are popular books

14. *"L'art poetique, le chef-d'oevre de Boileau, quitté lontemps regardé comme une autorité infaillible dans toutes les questions litteraires, et qu'on a nommé le code du bon gout, exposé les principes qui ont guidé les poetes du 17. siecle. Lange's Litterature Francaise,* p. 61.

15. *"The Dunciad* reads as though it were copied from the *Lutrin,* the evident relationship between the two poems being shown by their close similarity of style." *Cambridge Modern Hist.,* p. 70.

in schools up to the present time. They were admired by foreign scholars as well as Frenchmen and were soon introduced into the German schools. Even in America they play an important part in the prescribed curriculum of French.

These plays were written for a girls' school, and in 1698 were given at Saint Cyr, a girls' school which was founded by Mme. de Maintenon. Shortly before this Racine's tragedy *Andromaque* had been given before the pupils there, but the role of Hermione, had produced such an overwhelming effect on them, that Mme. de Maintenon asked Racine to write a play from which love was omitted. Racine then produced *Esther* which was played with the greatest success in 1689. Afterwards, inspired by the success of Esther, he wrote *Athalie*.[16] Thus we see that the French have ever been diligent in working out the problem of an ideal school for girls, and that their efforts are still duly appreciated in many countries. Their methods are followed and their books are still read with the most intense enthusiasm.

Madame de Sevigne was one of the most remarkable

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16. *"On avait fait jouer aux élevès de Saint-Cyr, en présence de la cour, la tragédie d' Andromaque'; mais le role d'hermione ayant produit trop d'effet, Madame de Maintenon écrivit sur-le-champ à Racine: "Nos petites filles viennent de jouer Andromaque et l'ont si bien jouée qu'elles ne la joueront plus jamais, ni aucune de vos autres pièces." Ce fut dans cette lettre que Madame de Maintenon pria Racine de lui faire, dans ses moments de loisir, "quelque éspèce de poème moral dont l'amour fut entierement banni." Racine composa la tragédie d'Esther, qui fut jouée a Saint-Cyr en* 1689. *Le succes éclatant de cette piece inspira au poete un autre chef-d'oeuvre, Athalie, mais le success ne fut pas le même. Lange's Hist. of Litterature Francaice,* p. 49.

individuals in the reign of Louis XIV. She created a new kind of literature in the form of letters. These are full of historical and literary merit, though without any pretence to oratory. They are full of emotion and noble sentiments, high in spirit and with a pleasant wit. Madame de Sevigne was closely connected with the Court through the marriage of her daughter to Count de Grignan, who two years later became governor of the Province. In these letters of Madame de Sevigne to her daughter, we get a great deal of the history of Louis XIV, and see the soul of this great man reflected as in a mirror. Her letters are read in schools in many countries, and here in America they are still a popular part of the curriculum of French in our colleges.[17]

We must now speak of the preachers of France, as they too played an important part in the culture of Europe. In the reign of Louis the XIV, the masses could best be reached through the pulpit. This was accomplished by the *eloquence de la chaire* where the great religious dignitaries addressed the people and made the State announcements.[18] The two remarkable men of this class were Boussuet[19] and Flecher. Boussuet took his doctor's degree

17. *"Les lettres, de Mm. de Scvigne, qui embrassent des plus curieuses années du règne du Louis XIV. sont precieuses pour l'histoire des évenements et des moerf du temps; elles nous font connaitre la cour et ses intrigués, le roi et sa vie privee, l'Eglise, le theatre la literature, la guerre et les fetes." Lange's Hist. of Fr. Lit.*, p. 65.

18. Bossuet pressed the most powerful eloquence, and a verbal, but yet disciplined, vehemence into the service of the religion he expounded." *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. 5, p. 66.

19. *Bossuet est le plus grand orateur peut-etre qu'ait produit la chaire chretiennes son mon est aujourd'hui synonyme d'éloquence.. Il s'est créé une langue sublime de majesté, d'élan*

at the age of twenty-five at the Sorbonne. He was a finished scholar in oratory. He became the Court preacher and was the instructor of the Dauphin. Boussuet, Flecher, and Bourdaloue[20] attained to the dignity of finished pulpit oratory. Boussuet was one of the greatest classical scholars in this grand age of literature and he added real dignity and simplicity to public oratory.[21] His two greatest works are: 'Les Oraisons funebres' and 'Le Discours sur l'histoire universelle.'[22] He became famous and world renowned in his two great funeral orations on the two Henriettes of France and England, mother and daughter.[23] French literature profited by his great work *Discours sur l'histoire universelle.* In this he created a new

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et de splendeur, qui éclate surtout dans ses Oraisons funèbres. Les plus admirees sont celles de Henriette de France, reine d'Angleterre, et de sa fille Henriette d'Angleterre." Lange Fr. Hist. Lit., p. 66.

20. *"Le siecle de Louis XIV ne permit pas a l'eloquence politique de se deployer; la voix du citoyen fut étouffée, mais la chaire fut plus libre, et le siécle s'est applique avec beaucoup de zele a perfectionner le sermon." Lange's Hist. of Lit.* p. 65.

21. *"Bossuet est grand encore comme theologien, comme philosophe et comme historien. Dans son Discours sur l'histoire universelle il a cultivé ou plutot créé un nouveau genre: la philosophie de l'histoire."* Lange p. 66.

22. *"Dans Discours sur l'histoire universelle," les trones et les empires tombent avec un fracas effroyable les uns sur les autres, et au milieu de cette mobilité des institutions humaines se dresse l'empire du Fils de l'homme auquel seul l'éternité est promise. On peut contester la verité du point de vue de Bossuet: on n'en peut méconnaitre la magnificence. Ce sont les fastes du genre humain apercus du haut du Sinai." Demogeot.*

23. *Henriette de France, reine d'Angleterre, était epouse de Charles I. et sa fille Henriette d'Angleterre était mariee à Philippe, duc d'Orleans, frère de Louis XIV et du grande Conde. Lange.*

kind of history, that of the philosophy of history. This and some of his other works produced no small effect upon England and Germany where finished pulpit orators were in demand. The works of these orators were zealously studied by the less able preachers who wished to promote themselves in rhetoric and oratory. They certainly gained in style and besides they came under the influence of these men whose ideas they, in turn, loudly proclaimed from their pulpits to the world. This produced an influence of refinement and culture upon laymen as well as scholars.

The age of Louis XIV or the golden age of literature of France, made a lasting effect not only upon Germany and England but also upon Spain. This was the time of the decadence of the literature of Spain. Since their own literary productions were almost at a standstill, they naturally looked to France the one country so rich in productions for their spiritual and mental food. This was easy, furthermore, for them to do because Spain was related to France by marriage through Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV, and French was already the court language. French was being introduced into Spain rapidly and continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For more than a hundred years there is scarcely anything written in Spain that is not directly or indirectly derived from the French.[24]

24. "The beginning of the eighteenth century, it might almost be said that Spain was a pupil of the French School. To Ignacio de Luzan y Guerra, the disciple of Descartes and of Port-Royal, Spain owed the Logic of Port-Royal, and he also introduced Milton to his countrymen; Moratin wrote both tragedies and comedies entirely in the French style; Cadalso,

after finishing his student days in Paris, imitated the Lettres Persanes in his Cartas Marruescas, and Voltaire in his tragedy Don Sancho Garcia; Jove Llanas, who also translated Milton, produced in the same epoch on the Spanish stage his tragedy Pelage, written on French lines. Spain had to wait until the nineteenth century before she again reverted to her own literary idiosyncrasy." *The Cambridge Modern History*, p. 69.

CHAPTER IV

Fourth Period

Eighteenth Century

IN the eighteenth century we must consider Rollin, Montesquieu, and several others, but more especially the two great names Voltaire and Rousseau. Rollin, who was called "l'abeille de la France," devoted himself to education all his life. He was an exceedingly industrious man and a modest member of the University all his life. He won professorships and rectorships of the University because of his learning. His *Traite des Etudes* is a work of great merit and is much admired by scholars to this day. It was said by Villemain that there never had been a work written on education that was so valuable.

The eighteenth century was an age of analysis. Montesquieu[1] was the greatest writer on political science. His life long he was thinking of many literary as well as scientific schemes. His *Considerations* in 1721 and his great work *Esprit des Lois* produced an immense effect on Herder in Germany.[2]

1734

1. *"Si Montesquieu n'instruit pas toujours son lecteur, il le fait toujour penser; et c'est la un grand merite."* Voltaire.

2. *"Persuadé que ces lois, ces institutions, ces moeurs, si elles n'avaient au fond unprincipe plus releve, plus fecond, qui les fait vivre, tomberaient bientot ainsi que la societé qu'elles soutiennent, il cherche ce principe, et il le trouve, soit dans la nature de l'homme en general, soit dans les causes locales et particulieres de chaque peuple."* Lange's Hist. of French Lit., p. 75. And Kluge says of Herder's *"Ideen zur Philosophie der*

Montesquieu[3] was elected to the Academy but because of the somewhat cold reception tendered him, he cared little for the Institute and so traveled three years in Europe. He now visited England where he was brought into Royal society by his friend Lord Chesterfield, and his membership in this society helped him greatly in his later works. He was very fond of England and Englishmen and made quite a study of political affairs there. He greatly admired English politics. His *Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la decadence des Romains* in 1734, was one of Montesquieu's greatest works, and was much admired by the English. In 1721 he began to make himself known to the public by his work *Lettres persaones* which the French termed *le plus profond des livres frivoles.*[4] His *Essai sur le gout* was published in the Encyclopædia. His *Considerations*, which fostered a spirit for patriotism and upheld the sanctity of oaths, respect for law, and the independence of the individual as

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Menschheit," "In diesem poesiereichen Werke entwickelt Herder den Zusammenhang der Natur mit dem Menschenleben und macht den Anfag zu einer Philosophie der Geschichte," Kluge p. 147.

3. "Twenty years before Herder's first writings, Montesquieu in his *'Esprit des Lois'* (1748) had made the analysis of political institutions a means of gauging national character. Herder applied the same to the study of language, religion, and above all to literature." Franke, pp. 320.

4. *"Lettres persanes 'le plus profond des livres frivoles,' parvint tout de suite a la plus grande popularité. L'auteur fut recu, he 1727 a l'Academic francaise, non cependant sans une vive opposition et seulement apres avoir desavoué les plus hardies de ses lettres. Il se mit alors à voyager, visita l'Autriche, l'Italie, la Hollande, enfin l'Angleterre, ou il alla avec son ami, lord Chesterfield, étudiant partout les moeurs et les institutions des peuples." Lange's Hist. of French Literature,* p. 73.

regards his faith and his beliefs, contained features which lent their influence towards the questions of freedom of thought and of speech which were already exciting the thinking minds in Germany. He strongly advocated tolerance and liberty and seems to have been the one to introduce those feelings which developed very quickly a little later in many of the wide-awake countries and not the least in America. America was ever alert and the spirit of independence grew perhaps more rapidly here than in any other country.

Montesquieu's greatest work *Esprit des Lois,* is said to be the one on which he thought a long time before he began to write. It is at least one of the greatest works on political philosophy. It was necessarily long and laborious as it tried to observe all nations and all ages, and to classify all forms of government, and to describe the effect and meaning of all institutions.[5] He was the first to give such prominence and importance to the influence of climate and environment upon national characteristics. Some historian of literature has said that Montesquieu's work became one of the most important influences which bore on the development of the American constitution. He had carefully analyzed the principles of the English government and so when the drafters of the constitution of the United States began to look for the best way to express those same principles of political liberty as the English believed in, they turned to the *Esprit des Lois* and took most of their material from there. The three divisions, the executive,

Jefferson cribbed much from Montesquieu

5. *"l'Esprit des Lois' ouvrage auquel il travaillait depuis vingt ans, et ce livre le place au rang des premiers ecrivains."* *Lange's Hist. Fr. Lit.,* p. 73.

the legislative, and the judicial powers were taken from his arrangement.

Montesquieu's influence was equally great, though in quite a different way, on Germany. Herder, in his *Fragmente ueber die neure deutche Literatur* (1767) claims that literature is the expression of national character and thus explains the law of literary development,—namely, that the vital forms of a language or the highest types of literature and art are not created at all, but that they are the natural result of accumulated impressions coming upon mankind living collectively together; that is, human beings living together under the same kind of conditions and environment, that under similar conditions ideas are engendered and conceived in the nation as a whole and simultaneously. About twenty years before this, Montesquieu had advanced these same ideas and had expressed his views, and no doubt was the inspiration to Herder's philosophy. Montesquieu studied national character by analyzing its political institutions. Herder later on uses this same method in the study of language, religion, and literature, and he surely must have caught that idea from Montesquieu. Goethe, too, was inspired by Montesquieu's idea when he said in *Dichtung und Wharheit,* "He taught us to conceive of poetry as the common gift of all mankind, and not as the private property of a few refined, and cultured persons."

Montesquieu was appreciated more in England and Germany than even in France itself. Most of his works were printed in Geneva to escape censure. Naturally the attempt of the Sorbonne and the French government to suppress his work made them all the more popular.

They were soon read all over Europe and the influence simply can not be told. Twenty-two editions published in less than two years were scarcely enough to supply the demand. He was not fully appreciated, at first, in France, but was greatly admired by England. In fact, Englishmen and Montesquieu seem to have had a mutual admiration for one another. He shared some ideas with Voltaire, yet he did not attach himself to Voltaire or to any one else in this philosopher's beliefs. The noble independence of such a great character and the constant devotion to serious study are much to be admired. He stood out alone and in his own way as one of the greatest reformers of ideas in the eighteenth century.[6]

Buffon (1707-1788) the great naturalist and philosopher of nature produced an immense effect upon all Europe by his book *Histoire Naturelle.* "This history is now almost obsolete, and of comparatively little scientific value, but it had an immense popularity; and *created* a taste for the study of natural history throughout the whole of Europe."[7] The French called Buffon the Montesquieu of natural history, because he did for nature what Montesquieu had done for history, and for law; he tried to arrive at certain general principles for the study of facts. He said, *"Rassemblons des faits, pour nous donner des idees."* Hence, he tried to form a theory of philosophy of nature, just as Montesquieu had searched to form a theory of legislation.

His speech upon entering the Academy, *Discours sur le*

6. *"Montesquieu passe en revae les legislations connues, les lois, les moers, les institutions des peuples, telles qu'il les trouve." Lange's Hist. Fr. Lit.*, p. 74.

7. Nelson's Encyclopaedia. See also Packard's Lamark of 1901.

Style is the one which attracted most attention in foreign lands. The one thought, *Le Style est l'homme,*[8] is familiar to every school boy in all countries. He claimed that the style of a writer is that which stamps his work, with its true and real value, and is that alone, which makes it his own. He was one of the neo-classic cult of general terms. His care in the way of expression has been much admired.

Diderot and d'Alembert were among the Encyclopaedists. They took upon themselves the immense task of arranging a vast and complete exposition of all the sciences and of all the arts and of making a universal collection of all knowledge of man, and of all things known to man. It tended to engender scepticism and incredulity. Besides these, there were also some important foreigners, among whom we may mention, d'Holbach and Grimm who resided at Paris at this time and so became thoroughly imbued with the ideas of atheism, which they in turn, with Voltaire, spread in Germany. Diderot was called to Saint Petersburg by the Empress Catherine, where he propagated his ideas. He wrote well and much, and his influence in Russia was even greater than in France for a time. He represented the school of materialism and atheism, which is marked in Germany by Kotzebue and Iffland.[9]

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8. *Son grand style lui assure à jamais sa reputation. "Les ouvrages bien ecrit sont les seul qui passeront a la poterite," dit-il luimeme dans son Discours sur le Style, qu'il prononca pour sa reception a l'Academie francaise et ou, en parlant du style, il en donna le modele. Les deux passages celebres: "Le style n'est que l'ordre et le mouvement qu'on met dans ses pensees," et: "Le style c'est l'homme." Helene Lange's History of French Literature,* p. 95.

9. *"Il a publie beaucoup d'essais et de traites ou il expose ses doctrines; plusieurs romans, puis deux drames: Le Fils naturel et let Pere de famille, par lesquels il crea le genre du*

D'Alembert[10] came in contact with the scholars of his day in politics and in State affairs and was considered an authority among them. He, too, advanced his ideas on atheism and materialism and this cult of reason was popular for a while and spread to all places of intellectual activity. D'Holbach, who was a German by birth but had lived in France since the time of his youth, was one of the sturdy representatives of the school of atheism. His house became the rendezvous of the materialists and atheists. Here we also find another German, namely Grimm.

Voltaire 1694-1778

Voltaire, whose influence in Germany was unbounded called France at this time the "whipped cream of Europe."[11] France wanted to be the center of the civilized world and prided herself in taking the lead in any new thought. The literature of the preceding century had been scattered exceedingly rapid because of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[12] Hence that was the literature which most strongly influenced Europe. Some of the great schol-

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drame bourgeois, qui fut cultive en Allemagne par Kotzebue et par Iffland." Helene Lange's Hist. of French Lit., p. 96.

10. Diderot's big work the Encyclopaedia he published together with D'Alembert.

11. *"Dites-moi ci les bons livres de ce temps n'ont pas servi a l'education de tous les princes de l'empire. Quelle nation ne suivait pas la France?"* Selected Letters of Voltaire, p. 82.

12. "The Edict of Nantes was revoked 1685 by Louis XIV. The unwise act causing the expatriation of about fifty thousand families, who carried their industries to England and other lands. The loss to France was great, as was the gain to those countries which were wise and hospitable enough to afford an asylum to the Refugees." Crown's Encyclopaedia.

ars went to America, many to England among them Motteux, the translator of Rabelais's works. Montesquieu and Buffon traveled there and played an important part in exchanging ideas and in carrying French influence thither. Voltaire and Rosseau also traveled in England. Voltaire, who also plays so important a part in the making of French literature in the eighteenth century and who so strongly advocated the idea of cold reason, of atheism, and of realism had the greatest possible influence over Germany. For many years, he was the intimate friend of Frederick the Great, whom he taught the art of French poetry; for two years he was his teacher in French and for many years spent most of his time in his castle Sans Souci at Potsdam. Frederick the Great filled his library with the books of Voltaire where they may be seen to this day. He preferred reading Voltaire to any other writer. These books filling his immense library in the castle still bear testimony to the high esteem in which Frederick the Great once held Voltaire.

The prevailing spirit of this century was to do away with imagination and to pay special tribute to rationalism. Frederick the Great came now directly under this influence through Voltaire, and through him it spread through Germany. Frederick the Great read and spoke French better than German and preferred not only the language but also the manners and customs of the French to those of the Germans. The court language was French and all people of refinement read French as easily as German. The children of the wealthier families who spent more time with their governesses than with their mothers spoke French much better than German. Frederick the Great

who so ardently admired the French had also, at Berlin and Potsdam, two other great scholars with him namely, LaMettrie and Maupertius. Through the efforts of Gottsched, Germany already had been saturated with the doctrines of Boileau and through Opitz Germany had been filled with French writings as models for their poetry. To this day, French is spoken fluently and well in all families of culture. (The German women of society either go to France for their styles in dress, or have their things imported from there.) The predominence of France in literature and all intellectual matters was so great at this time that the Berlin Academy offered a prize for the best essay on *The Reason for the Universality of French.* Rivarol was the lucky one who won the prize by his *Discours sur l'universalité de Langue francaise.*

Voltaire's ideas on rationalism in general and on religion in particular, greatly influenced Germany as well as the works of Boyle who had influenced Voltaire in his beliefs. In the year of 1684, Boyle began the publication of a monthly periodical, *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres* intended to be a review on history, science, and religion. This periodical attracted much attention in Germany and so he easily sent his thoughts broadcast over Germany. Boyle was opposed to Catholics as well as Calvinists in regard to their views on religion. His chief delight was to try to disprove the infallibility of the Holy Writ. He did not believe in the miracles and tried to show the contradiction between miracles and the laws of nature. Many articles of this kind were translated and read in Germany.

Voltaire was a master of poetry and prose and showed a keen though delicate taste for satire and irony which he

used without mercy whenever he deemed that the proper weapon with which to chastise his victim. Voltaire was a rationalist and atheist, yet like all great and good men, he stood for what he believed to be the truth, honor, and right. He abhorred alike religious intolerance and political persecution; both angered him. He stood for "intellectual destructiveness and literary conservation." He strongly advocated independence of mind. Voltaire wished all people of every class and of every nation to be free in their own way of thinking and not to be subservient to a despot's whim. We might quote a few lines from *Wright's Literature* on Voltaire: "Though a foe to religion, he made religion and the world more honest; a sneering satirist, he helped to bring about mercy and tolerance; a dramatic conservative, he suggests the melo-drama and spectacle; an apostle of destruction, he made possible, though he had no share in it, the reconstruction of French society. Though a leering cynic, a *'singe de genie'* as Hugo called him, with the *'heureux sourire'* of which Musset speaks in *Rolla,* he was kind to his friends and gentle with many an ungrateful and undeserving person. Though vain and conceited he did some of the most courageous and altruistic deeds of his time."

Rousseau 1712-1778

While Voltaire, the free-thinker, was all reason, Rousseau was all feeling and sentiment. In an age of intellectual coldness and reason, Rousseau stands out all alone as the one who introduced sentiment. Just as Voltaire turned Europe to rationalism in its most severe sense, so Rousseau

turns it to sentiment. Up to this time it had been deemed improper to show one's feelings, even in matters of love where the heart often speaks more than reason. Rousseau was so full of emotion, it is said, that on being introduced to people, he sometimes was unable to speak and would merely shake hands and burst into tears. Madame Dupin, grandmother of George Sand, tells of meeting Rousseau for the first time: *"J'apercois un petit homme assez mal vêtu et comme renfrogné, qui se levait lourdement, qui marchonnait des mots confus. Je fonds en larmes, Jean Jacques, étourdi de cet accueil veut me remercier et fond en larmes. Franceuil veut nous remettre l'esprit par une plaisanterie et fond en larmes. Nous ne fumes nous rien dire. Rousseau me serra la main et ne m'addressa pas une parole. On essaya de dîner pour couper court à tous ces sanglots."*

Rousseau's influence on all of Europe is immense, not only on literature, but also on philosophy, politics, and education. He influenced the whole world to a love for liberty and he may be said to have stirred up the revolutionary spirit in both France and Germany. He certainly accelerated the outbreak of the French Revolution and gave it somewhat its direction. With him began the ceaseless strivings for liberty which he aroused in his *Droit de l'homme*. Marat admired him and soon everybody read his work and became inspired by his love for liberty. The University of Jena,[13] especially advocated the principles of

13. Schiller who lectured at the university of Jena, propagated the ideas of Rousseau.

Schiller's ideas of political and intellectual freedom were the same as Rousseau's with whom he was in close sympathy, as he was a disciple of his. . . . See Encyclopaedia Brit., Vol. 24, eleventh edition.

Rousseau, and propagated his ideas of liberty throughout Europe. In the seventeenth century the German drama, lyrics, and novels were filled with conflicts and had become a real battlefield where class tyranny and moral corruption prevailed against self-asserting, free individuals. This conflict was stirred up by Rousseau who more powerfully and more eloquently than any other writer of his time expressed that longing for freedom of nature, for humanity, and for individuality. He loved nature and hated all restraint. The Sturm and Drang period in Germany was called forth by Rousseau's writings. To quote from Francke's German Literature: "It is indeed impossible to conceive of the Sturm and Drang period and its movement without Rousseau's *Nouvelle Heloise* and *Emile.* It is undeniable that it was the stimulus received from France which set this agitation into motion." Rousseau saw in mankind an aggregate of free and equal individuals. His conception of an ideal state of nature is taken up by Schiller in his ideas of an *ideal state of culture.* In his discourse, man's noblest and genuine humane endowment is held up as the greatest moral and intellectual force of the world. He places great power in beauty. "Only through the morning gate of beauty goes the pathway to the land of knowledge." In Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell,* we again see Rousseau's ideas of republicanism and individualism. The striving for justice and right freedom, the ideas of intellectual revolution, reform and reconstruction as conceived by Rousseau, we see again in this work of Schiller. Wieland's *Agathon* is likewise filled with Rousseau's ideals. The hero shows plainly the same ideas of following nature, rather than conventionalities. He be-

lieves in the virtue, innocence, and freedom of the will. He is an enthusiastic admirer of nature and believes in a "former ideal state of mankind."

Fichte was also inspired by Rousseau to take up the spirit of the childlike innocence of a good conscience and perfect freedom of the will, as we see in his *Grundzüge des gegenwartigen Zeitalters,* where he dreamed of a primitive state of innocence and righteousness, prompted by instinct. He believed that restriction of nature, and the conflict between authority and freedom are the causes of any individual's falling away from this primitive state of innocence, and that the way by which he may again return to it, can only be by that of reason and culture.

Goethe, also, came under this same influence. We see plainly in his *Hermann und Dorothea* this same striving for freedom. In his *Iphigenia* we see most strikingly Rousseau's ideas in the liberation of Iphigenia by her childlike innocence and her great love for truth and her following the natural impulses of nature.

Iphigenia

Beneficence doth no reflection need.

Thoas

'Tis needed oft, for evil springs from good.

Iphigenia

Consider not: act as thy feelings prompt thee.*

*Translated by Swanwick.

And at the end, Thoas really lets her go because of her absolute faith in the kindness of humanity and her child-like trust in him as she reveals the whole truth to him.

Orest

Requite the blessing which her presence brought thee,
And let me now my nearer right enjoy!
Cunning and force, the proudest boast of man,
Fade in the lustre of her perfect truth;
Nor unrequited will a noble mind
Leave confidence, so childlike and so pure.

Iphigenia

Think on thy promise; let thy heart be mov'd
By what a true and honest tongue hath spoken!
Look on us, king! an opportunity
For such a noble deed not oft occurs.
Refuse thou canst not,—give thy quick consent.

Thoas

Then go!*

In short, the influence of Rousseau was felt on all the world in his ideas for freedom and in his revolt against the existing social and political order. The revolt meant the rise of the middle classes over an aristocracy by birth which was not an aristocracy in spirit. It was the upward movement in the dignity and self-respect of the individual man, no matter to what class he belonged, and it was also a step towards reconciling individualism and collectivism. It is always true that the perfection of the individual is a step towards the perfection of the masses, and hence must

*Translated by Swanwick.

lead to a wider sympathy. What Tolstoi and Ibsen are to-day, Diderot and Rousseau were to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Indeed, our very constitution is based on the ideas of Rousseau, and his influence pervades the literature of all peoples in all parts of the world to-day. Rousseau always had a circle of learned men around him. He was for a long time in close friendship with Diderot, D'Alembert, and Grimm over whom he exerted a great influence. In 1750 he published a discourse as a reply to the question propounded by the Academy of Dijon, whether the re-establishment of sciences and arts had resulted in making morals purer. His answer was in the negative. He made his reply with so much energy and eloquence, as well as power of argument, that the Academy gave him a prize. Again in 1754, the Academy gave out a question as to the origin of inequality of men and whether it is justified by the law of nature. His answer was, "No, it is not justifiable by nature." This was called his *Discours sur l'inegalité* and though it was far better than his first *Discours sur les Sciences et les arts,* yet the Academy did not this time award him the prize, so much was public opinion against him. Nevertheless, both these Discourses set scholars and philosophers thinking, and it fostered a new idea of a government, which was to be one for the people and by the people. Here before all people of different classes, he advocated that all men should have equal rights and an equal share in government and society as well as in all the enjoyments of nature's richest and choicest blessings. This is important as we see here the roots of the constitution of the United States, and of every republic. He was from

now on considered a democrat and a friend of the people, and no doubt it is true as has been charged, that the underlying principles of socialism have been derived from Rousseau's agitation of liberty and equal rights.

La Nouvelle Heloise (1769), *Du Contrat Social* (1762), and his treatise on Education, *Emile,* (1762)—these three, so different, yet each so great, raised him to the highest rank as an educator and an advocate for real and true freedom of thought. He stood out alone, and bravely in an age of intellectual coldness. In his book, *Nouvelle Heloise,* he plead with so much warmth and such passion for nature that the book soon became very popular. Everybody wanted to read it. This book alone, it has been said, would have brought about a revolution in the way of looking upon nature and society. Rousseau's *Du Contrat Social* shows the natural and ideal government to be the direct government of the people and by the people, and not one by an hereditary monarch. His book, *Emile,* was the great reformer of schools. He said, "Trust nature and follow nature." All our present ideas of out-of-door study and recreation, our ideas of living simple lives in close touch with the beauties of nature, the enjoyment of free air and freedom, can be traced to Rousseau's *Emile.* All these teachings backed by Rousseau's matchless eloquence affected society, and brought an immense influence to bear on England, Germany, Spain, and other countries. In *Emile,* where Rousseau makes one of his characters, a simple village priest, give a complete system of his ideas on religion, which is "a natural touch with nature," we find traces of the same ideas of rationalism which Voltaire took up, and which was called atheism by some writers.

This element of Rousseau's teachings comes out in some of Goethe's writings. Notice his *Götz von Berlichingen* which represents a conflict between the strivings for freedom, and the old bondage to authority of the ruling powers. Let us quote from the history of German literature by Kluge: "The piece represents the conflict between the rule of lords and the new order of things." The extreme sentimentality which we have seen in Rousseau, now several years later comes out in Goethe. This spirit of sentimentality in an extreme form is brought out in a striking manner in his *Die Leiden des jungen Werther.* It is a representative product of the *Sturm und Drang* period, which particularly belongs to the dreamy sentimentality, introduced by Rousseau. *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* was now read and admired by the Germans and the French alike, just as Rousseau's works had been read and admired by the Germans and French a century before. There seemed to be a regular craving for writings of a sentimental nature, such as there had never been before, and a longing to break away from the all-pervading rationalism and cold reasoning intellect of the past. Rousseau, with his emotional nature, so beautifully painted freedom and the out-of-door nature that its alluring attractiveness lead young and old to weep themselves sick in longing for the innocent freedom of the will and the upbuilding of the good that is innate in one's own being and God-given individuality. Here again we see the power of the beautiful, and the sublime. Rousseau no doubt influenced the life of the world more than anyone since the birth of Christ. He certainly caused a change in politics by stirring up the Revolution. In

Germany, his works were active in fostering the spirit for socialism.

Rousseau engendered a spirit of romanticism and showed a strong tendency toward a real revolutionary idea which bore directly on the individuals of his time who indeed advanced in a single direction until they come into the revolution itself. Havelock Ellis also observes that since the Christianization of the Roman Empire, "There have been four great movements of the human spirit in Christendom —the Renaissance, the Reformation, the counter-reformation, and the Revolution. Three of these movements have been so diffused in time and space that we are scarcely justified in closely associating even one of them with the influence of a single man, but the Revolution, incalculably great as its results have been, was narrowly circumscribed. It is comparatively easy to measure it and when so measured its friends and foes ascribe it—so far as any complex social economic movement can be associated with any one man—to Rousseau." Then Havelock Ellis goes on to say that mainly by virtue of his relation to the Revolution, alike in its direction toward socialism and its direction toward anarchism Rousseau is claimed to be the pioneer of modern democracy. For both of these democratic movements, the collective as well as the individual rest on the natural instincts which Rousseau made it his mission to proclaim. "The democracy which insists that the whole shall embody every unit, and the democracy which insists that each unit shall have its own rights against the whole alike appeal to deep emotional reasons to which the humblest respond." Lemaître goes so far as to say that there would have been no Republic without Rousseau. The three democratic

movements: republicanism, socialism and anarchism have been slowly entering into, and transforming the political societies of men ever since the time of the great Revolution of 1789, and the germs of all these movements were scattered abroad by the one man, Rousseau. Rousseau was also the promoter of romanticism. Emanuel Kant became imbued with the ideas of Rousseau as we see plainly in his *Zum Ewigen Frieden* where he fairly mirrors Rousseau's ideas of a perfectly free and yet peaceful government.[14]

Fichte's phiolsophy also was moulded by Rousseau as we have seen.

Goethe's genial soul fairly basked in the sunshine of Rousseau's ideas of God's out-of-door universe, of soul liberty, and his over-wrought sentimentality. The sentiments of *La Nouvelle Heloise* told directly on Goethe's writings. "It is only the heart that can speak to the heart."—Goethe.

Thus Goethe maintains that what man does not feel he can not properly express. Let us quote from Goethe's *Faust*:

Faust

If you do not feel it, you will not get it by hunting for it,—if it does not gush from the soul, and subdue the hearts of all hearers with powerful delight. . . .

Wagner

But it is the delivery that makes orator's success. I feel well that I am still behind-hand.

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14. Kant's simple room was decorated with only one portrait: it was that of Jean—Jacques Rousseau.

Faust

Seek honest gain only!—Be no fool with loud tinkling bells!—Reason and good sense are expressed with little art. And when you are seriously intent on saying something, is it necessary to hunt for words?*—*Goethe*

Of the French romanticism introduced by Rousseau, Havelock Ellis again speaks: "During the first half of the nineteenth century in France with the possible exception of Stendhal,—and even he was really affected by the movement,—it is not easy to name any notable figure in literature who was outside of romanticism. Rousseau's influence had become so all-pervading, that, like the universal pressure of the air, it was sometimes unperceived by those who were experiencing it."

It is also claimed by Havelock Ellis that Rousseau influenced the writings of Tolstoi, Emerson, and George Eliot. He claims that Rousseau was in advance of even our latest philosophers. There can be no doubt that he influenced Tolstoi in as much as so many of the vital points are in the same way and manner emphasized by Tolstoi.

Although William James has been called the father of Pragmatism yet Schinz has reasonably argued that "the greatest Pragmatist is and will no doubt always be—Rousseau," since he has so clearly set forth in his *Emile* and the latter half of his *Nouvelle Heloise,* the conception of truth as practical truth or cash value rather than science. So also in regard to the profound Bergsonian philosophy of to-day, which depreciates reason and insists on the vital force of instinct; that, too, was laid down,

*Translated by Hayward.

with somewhat less elaboration, but certainly not with less emphasis by Rousseau.

Thus Rousseau has changed the ideas of the world towards religion, towards sentiment, towards love for nature and the true appreciation of the beautiful.

Much might, indeed, be claimed for Rousseau in the direction of art. Just as in the period of the Renaissance artists turned to the classics for their subjects, so after Rousseau's time they turned their attention more closely towards things of nature. This is especially noticeable in their attempt to be original and in their copying of nature. The present tendency is to turn away from the set rules of the ancient artists and for each to follow the natural promptings of his own mind and soul. He replaced, "religious formalism and pedantry by mystical enthusiasm." He left behind the system of chivalry and empty forms of gallantry and replaced them by real feelings of the heart. He inspired all mankind with a true love for nature in its biggest sense. Before him, beauty was expressed in cold mathematical terms prescribed by the defined rules of the ancient artists, but with him nature itself became the interpreter and the teacher of what is really beautiful. Rousseau showed that he had the heart of an artist in his joy before all that is beautiful in nature. The beautiful sunset as well as the sweet little flower awakened the intellectual powers and opened up the heart of Rousseau and lent inspiration to his work. Rousseau's heart was large and warm with a kindly sympathy towards all mankind, which was perhaps one of the greatest forces in making his works immortal. Let us again quote from Havelock Ellis: "In this double capacity at once the type of genius

humanity, we learn to understand something of the magic influence of Rousseau. We learn to understand how it is that before this sublime character the most unlike persons in the world—the Marquis de Sade as well as Emerson, Charlotte Corday, as well as Emanuel Kant—have alike bowed in reverence. What shall we then say in the end, of all the operations of this man's spirit on the world save that it is a miracle with effects that immeasurably transcend their causes?"

He was born in 1712!

What Rousseau was to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Goethe, who was inspired by Rousseau, was at a later period to Germany. In the introduction to *Faust,* Calvin Thomas quotes from an old document, found among the papers of Goethe at Weimer, the following: "Ideal striving for influence over and sympathetic communion with the whole of Nature. Appearance of the Spirit as genius of the world and of deeds." First part: "Enjoyment of deeds looking without and enjoyment with consciousness." Beauty. Second Part. "Enjoyment of deeds from within."

Here we see the ideas of Rousseau. This document was found at Weimer and it was at Weimer[15] in 1802, that Goethe met Madame de Stael, who was a disciple of Rousseau.[16] As to the element of truth, as real truth, which Rousseau advocates, we find admirably brought out in Goethe's *Faust* in this little sentence: *"Die That ist alles,*

15. *L'avenement d'une societe nouvelle au commencement du dix-neuviere siecle amena necessairement une reforme litteraire. Les deux chefs de cette reforme furetnt Mme. de Stael et Chateaubriand, disciples epures de J. J. Rousseau et de Saint-Pierre." Lange's Hist. Fr. Lit.,* p. 101.

16. *En* 1802, *Mme. de Stael sejourna a Weimer, ou elle fit la connaissance de Goethe, Schiller et Weiland." Lange.*

nicht der Ruhm." Again, Rousseau's great idea of God in nature we find also in Goethe, so beautifully expressed in what is sometimes called his confession:

Who dare name him? and who avow: "I believe in him?" We feel—and dare to say: "I believe not in him?" The All-embracer, the All-sustainer, does he not embrace and sustain thee, me, himself? Does not the heaven arch itself there above?—Lies not the earth firm here below?—And do not eternal stars rise, kindly twinkling, on high?—Are we not looking into each other's eyes, and is not all thronging to thy head and heart, and weaving in eternal mystery, invisibly—visibly, about thee? With it fill thy heart, big as it is, and when thou art wholly blest in the feeling, then call it what thou wilt! Call it Bliss!—Heart!—Love!—God! I have no name for it! Feeling is all in all. Name is sound and smoke, clouding heaven's glow.—*Goethe-Faust* (Garden scene).*

Schiller 1759-1805

We find that Schiller was no less affected by Rousseau's ideas. Schiller's *Die Räuber* which is a revolt against oppression is a work of the Storm and Stress period, just as Goethe's *Götz von Berlichen,* as we have seen. It is full of the same revolt against tyranny and the same aspiration for freedom as is found in Rousseau's works. Let us compare the definition as given by Kluge of the Storm and Stress period of Germany, with the same ideas in Rousseau.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century a great change took place in the field of science, art, and poetry.

*Translated by Hayward.

In the field of religion there was also a change. The tendency was to break away from all rules previously established and to introduce a somewhat formless religion based purely on the reason of the individual.

In the teaching profession the idea of Rousseau, that of return to nature rather than to follow cold reason become very popular and made many enthusiastic followers. For example, Basedow founded his Pedogogy according to the ideas of Rousseau, and established many philanthropic societies. The greatest change was that which took place in poetry. Here, as in other lines of art, there was an ever growing desire to break away from the stiff rules, and set forms which up to this time had ruled the writing of poetry and to give free reins to the inspiration of the subject. In this way they wanted to create something all together new, original and distinctive. The keynote was originality and geniality. Hence we may justly call this time the period of originality and genius, or, according to a drama by Klinger, the Storm and Stress period.—*Kluge.*

Now, in order to compare this definition, with some of the same ideas in the Rousseau teachings, let us first take some one of Rousseau's works, for instance, his *Contrat Social* and see how we find the same revolutionary ideas in the German writers of the *Sturm und Drang* period. Let us take Schiller, for example. Now, let us see what *Contrat Social* stood for. Lange says: *"il proclama la souverainete du peuple et une égalité absolute, posant ainsi les principes d'on sortit la Revolution, pendant laquelle le Contrat Social fut pour les terrorists ce que la Bible avait été pour les puritans anglais du XVII siecle."* In Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* we certainly find a strong plea for *souveraineté du peuple et une égalité absolue.* Let us quote from *William Tell,* Act II, Scene I:

Rudenz

Uncle, I'm here! Your will?

Attinghausen

First let me share,
After the ancient custom of our house,
The morning cup with these my faithful servants!
(He drinks from a cup, which is then passed around).

Kuoni

(Offering Rudenz the cup)
A pledge, young master!
(Rudenz hesitates to take the cup)
Nay, sir, drink it off!
One cup, one heart! You know our proverb, sir?

Attinghausen

Go, children, and at eve, when work is done,
We'll meet and talk the country's business over.
(Exeunt Servants).*

What could be more democratic? In the *Räuber,* we find the same striving after liberty of thought and action. He expresses his anger at the oppressive chains which hold the free spirit of the thinking man in bondage, as well as his indignation at the existing condition of the state. Again in his *Die Verschwörung des Fiesko von Genua,* he not only rages against the oppressions of the states but with cunning and wisdom will overthrow the state. To quote from Kluge, p. 178: "In Fiesco or the Genoese con-

*Translated by Martin.

spiracy, a republican drama which appeared in 1783 and also belongs to the Storm and Stress period we find that Fiesco wishes to overcome the laws and regulations of the state by cunning and wisdom, while in the 'Rauber' a ruined world is to be crushed by force."

In *Kabale und Liebe* we also find that the author is vexed, that the high and noble in the world must so often succumb to the bad and common. Schiller shows here how the simple but virtuous peasants are trodden under foot by the despotic rule of those in authority. These dramas all show the same trend that the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau does, namely, a spirit against the old set rules of the state and political institutions.[17] In the *Anthologie,* the lyric poems of Schiller, we find the same unrestrained longing for freedom. According to Kluge, p. 179: "Those poems bear the character of the Storm and Stress period—they are formless, full of exaggeration and passion and express an overwhelming longing for freedom." These are likewise the main characteristics of Rousseau's works. In *Don Carlos,* Schiller will tear down the old existing conditions of the state, not so much by force, or by the way of a revolution, but rather . . . as in accordance with the high ideals of Rousseau . . . by the light of truth, simple truth, and by the sword of the free word; by that shall the world be changed. In his poetic work *Die Künstler,* Schiller shows the significance of art in the development of the human soul. "You can enter the land of knowledge only through the morning-

17. *Lange, of him: "Les idees qu'il a mises en vogue sur l'infallibilité du peuple, etc.—ont beaucoup contribue à amener la Revolution."* p. 86.

gate of beauty." Here the beauty of nature, becomes the real teacher of man; the artist is, as it were, but the assistant, who helps man to see the beauties of nature. To the artist he says: "The dignity and worth of mankind is placed in your hand, take care of it!"

Schiller in his *Wallenstein,* as also in his *Im Abfall der Niederlande,* shows an unlimited enthusiasm for the liberty of the citizens. He is now so full of the spirit for freedom of thought and action, and for a more ideal government, that he produces one drama after another, expressing his indignation at the existing conditions.[19] In his *Dreizigjährigen Krieg* he shows the greatest enthusiasm for religious liberty. Hence his enthusiasm is at its highest point, when he describes such characters as: Admiral Coligny, Wilhelm von Oranian, Gustav Adolph, etc. This may be seen from the fact that after the description of these characters, his interest visibly wanes. Some historians give this as the reason that his work *Der Abfall der Vereinigten Niederlande,* remained a fragment. For in reality it ends with the establishment of Alba's rule. So also in *Die Dreizigjahrigen Krieg,* after the murder of Wallenstein, and after the death of Gustav Adolph, everything is crowded together in order to finish the story as quickly as possible. In *Die Braut von Messina* we find the sentimentality and the eloquence so characteristic of Rousseau.

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18. Kluge.

19. *"Nach Vollendung des Wallensteins 1799 verlegte Schiller, seinen Wohnsitz nach Weimer. Hier entwickelte er eine solche dramatische Fruchtbarkeit, dasz fast jedes Jahr ein neues Orininaldrama erschien. Daneben wurden von ihm ausländische Stücke übersetzt und für die Bühne bearbeitet." Kluge,* p. 188.

We have now tried to show the similarity between the works of Rousseau and Schiller, by which we claim that Schiller was not only under the influence of Rousseau, but was indeed a disciple of his. We will now try to prove this further by quoting from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* eleventh edition, vol. 24.

In adopting verse instead of prose as a medium of expression, Schiller showed that he was prepared to challenge comparison with the great dramatic poets of other times and other lands; but in seeking a model for this higher type of tragedy he unfortunately turned to the classic theatre of France, rather than to the English drama which Lessing a little before, had pronounced more congenial to the German temperament. The unwieldiness of the plot and its inconsistencies show, too, that Schiller had not yet mastered this new form of drama; but *Don Carlos* at last provided him with an opportunity of expressing ideas of political and intellectual freedom with which, as the disciple of Rousseau, he was in warm sympathy.

Ueber Tragische Kunst (1792), as well as in his correspondence with his friend Körner, Schiller arrives at the definition of beauty, as *Freiheit in der Erscheinung* which, although it failed to remove Kant's difficulty that beauty was essentially a subjective conception, nevertheless, marked a new stage in the history of Germany, as to their esthetic theory. . . . In Schiller's *Wallenstein,* he portrays the two lovers according to the French pseudo-classic method—the two lovers, Max Piccolomini and Thekla, are an obvious concession to the tradition of the French theatre.

Der Neffe als Onkel, so much admired in our schools, both here and abroad, is but a translation from the French. Schiller, in the year 1803, the same year as he wrote *Wil-*

helm Tell, translated two French comedies of Picard and also finished a German version of Racine's *Phedre.*

As a lyric poet, Schiller was the exponent of ideas which belong to the period before the French Revolution rather than to our times. We look to his high principles of moral conduct, his noble idealism and optimism, rather as the ideals of an age that has passed away than as the expression of the more material ambitions of the modern world. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* vol. 24, p. 326.

Thus we see, Schiller has given expression to the ideas of Rousseau in every way: in freedom of thought and expression, in truth as a real factor in life, in beauty as a powerful educator of mankind, and in, that the way to return to a more ideal state, both as an individual and collectively, lies in a return to nature.[20]

At the time of the Thirty Years' War, Germany had been most strongly under the influence of French. Then Germany began to produce some writers who felt that it would be better for Germany to become more decidedly German than to imitate the French so closely. Frederic von Logau was one of the first to feel the necessity for a national literature and had the courage to oppose public opinion and public taste and follow his own taste, which was more in conformity with the temperament of the Ger-

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20. In Musenalmanach, Schiller published a poem *'Spaziergang'* which expresses Rousseau ideas of returning to nature. *"Der 'Spaziergang' enthält einen Ueberblick über die Kulturentwicklung der Menschheit, und zwar schildert der Dichter nacheinander das Leben der Menschheit mit der Natur, das Leben in den Städten, tie Blüte der Kunst und Wissenschaft, sowie die Zeit des Verfalls, und empfielt als einziges Mittel der Rettung die Rückkehr zur Natur." Kluge,* p. 185.

man people. Logau set up a new standard according to German ideals. He said that no one is honored among us who speaks no French. Let us give his own words:

He who does not know French is not a famous man; therefore we must condemn those from whom we descend, whose heart and mouth know only German.—*Logau.*

We see further more from this little satirical poem, that they even disclaimed and disowned their ancestors because they could only speak and feel German. We quote this to show how immeasurably great the influence of French literature and the French language on Germany was, when a German writer speaks thus of his own times. Let us again quote from Logau in his own quaint style:

"Servants have to wear the livery of their masters, can it then be true that France is the lord and Germany the slave? Shame on thee, proud Germany for this disgraceful bondage!"

Can we wonder that a German should be disgusted with his own people when he finds them ashamed of their own language and the customs of their ancestors when they wrote French, talked French, thought French and even dressed French?

Wieland 1733-1813

Wieland, too, we would say, was very strongly under

21. Friedrich von Logau 1605-55 was Germany's most gifted epigrammatis. Notice his old style of spelling.
For further information see Robertson's Hist. of German Lit.

the influence of the universal spell of France. He believed in the absolutism and rationalism of Descartes. He greatly admired Voltaire. He was in favor of the French revolution of 1789, and again after the declaration of the republic, he became interested in German paternalism. Wieland was ever trying the new, while Klopstock stood by the old traditions. Wieland gained popularity among the fashionable people, whom his confrere Klopstock and other greater writers were too serious to reach. Wieland was more French than German in his temperament. He seems to stand on the threshold inviting the new day for Germany to enter.[22] He began by writing in the French style, but finished by standing firmly for a decidedly German literature. He took his story of *Oberon* from an old French romance *Huon of Bordeaux,* in which he makes a fine blending of the real world and the fanciful. While Klopstock was for a higher standard of morality, Wieland strives for a perfected humanism. In this way he did a great work, for he endeavored to prepare his country for that dream of perfect freedom and equipoise, "that universal human interest and endeavor for a cultured Germany." He became inspired by the philosophy of Descartes in regard to the new humanism or rationalism and so he in turn endeavored to quicken and to broaden the realistic current literature, which was welcomed in Germany.

22. "Heretofore the elegant world had recognized no culture but the French, and had not believed in the possibility of a readable German book. To Wieland belongs the credit of winning from them some respect for their despised mother-tongue, and he may therefore be mentioned with the grander names who were preparing for the new day." p. 311, Hosmer Short Hist. of Ger. Literature.

Wieland in his *Agathon* gives us a true view of the rationalism of the eighteenth century. He gives us here an example to teach us how far an intelligent human being, by his own free will, may advance toward the true perfection of character and how he may by his natural power and innate good, advance toward wisdom and virtue. He shows also what a great influence outward circumstances have in guiding our way of thinking and acting, and how they often have the power to turn us either to the good or to the bad. They often lead us silently towards wisdom, or they may lead us in the opposite direction towards evil. He also shows how important is self-restraint and how valuable is the advice of the good and the experienced. By close attention to the wise and good, we may follow their example and so be lead to the most ideal perfection of character and may become good and wise. He thus advocates the philosophy of Descartes and lays this down as the way to reach the highest human perfection. Thus we see that he was strongly under the influence of the philosophy of Descartes. He was also an ardent admirer of Voltaire, Diderot, d'Alembert, and Rousseau.[23] Wieland, also was influenced in his writing by Voltaire's *Candide*. This we see in his *Agathon,* where the character Hippiastries tries to convince his young servant of the folly of idealistic zeal and his religious enthusiasm.[24]

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23. See Kluge, p. 118.

24. Let us quote from Kluge's Hist. of Ger. Lit., p. 120. In Agathon *"Wird ein platonischer Enthusiast Agathon einem Sophister Hippias gegenübergestllt, der inn von der Unwahrheit seiner Ideale zu überzeugen und ihn zum grubsten Materialismus zu bakehren sucht, der keine andere Triebfeder menschlicher Handlungen kennt, als das selbstsüchtige Ver-*

Lessing is the one great master who at last broke away from the French and shook off the fetters of the influence of the French. In his time the French language and manners set the standard for actors and actresses. It was supposed that there could be no theatre without this language. Lessing himself in his earlier writings used very much French. In his *Minna von Barnhelm* there are not only many phrases but whole pages of French. But in later years he became more decidedly German. In his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie,* a violent attack is made against the French Drama. Lessing was angered at the unnatural predominance of French taste and style in the German literature. Lessing realized that he of all men was the one who at that time could set his people free from the slavish imitation of the French masters and could direct the efforts of his countrymen into a national German channel.

From Lessing's time on, the German people began to realize that there could be a literature that was purely German. They now began to look upon the French merely as judicious writers and not as unfailing models or perfect ideals in the making of literature. They looked upon Corneille and Racine and Moliere, along side of such writers as Shakespeare and Sophocles and no longer as towering above them. Lessing was, however, under the influence of rationalism and was himself a rationalist of

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langen nach Vorteil und Genusz. Wen auch Agathon eine solche schmachvolle Sittenlehre mit Entrüustung von sich weist, so fällt er doch in die Netze der liebenswürdigen und reizenden Danae. In dem Romane,—feiert die heitere französche Lebensphilosophie einen Triumph—über die fromme christliche Schwärmerei," etc.

the highest type.[25]

Voltaire and his followers wanted to do away entirely with churches and the clergy, while Lessing finds the church a help in the upbuilding of character, and he believed in the relative value of all churches. This we have seen in his discussion of the three rings in *Nathan der Weise*. We maintain, as has been said, that most of the positive constructive liberalism in German life to-day has come more or less from the French. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the stage was filled with French dramas and many families had more French than German books in their libraries.[26] This is especially true of the more refined and cultured families, who, as we have seen, wanted their children to learn French in preference to their own language. At this time when Gottschedism was at its highest point, Lessing was called to the theatre at Hamburg to be critic of the German drama. How great the influence of the French literature at this period was, we can best see from Lessing's own words in his *Briefe die neueste Literatur betrefend*. These *Briefe* were edited from 1759-

25. *"Die Parabel von den drei Ringen* (Act III of Nathan der Weise), *finden wir die drei monotheistischen Religionen einander gleich zu setzen, und das wahre in jeder derselben ist die Toleranz, die Humanitat, die Liebe und reinste Sittlichkeit. (Da sich der göttliche Ursprung irgend einer Religion nicht beweisen lasse, so bestehe die höchste Pflicht des Menscen nicht im Glauben, sondern in der Tugend)."*

26. To see the predominence of French at this time let us quote from Kluge's Hist. of Ger. Lit., p. 139.

"Hambürgisch Dramaturgie (1767-1769) *die aus einer Reihe von Kritiken über 52 Theaterstücke besteht, unter welchen ungefähr zwei Drittel Ueberstzungen aus dem Französischen sind."* . . . *"Man habe den gutherzigen Einfall eines*

1760. "Nobody," maintain the editors of the library, "will deny that any good thing given on the stage can have its source any place but in the French." Lessing bravely replied, "I am that nobody, for the true German drama will by far exceed it." This Lessing tried to prove by his own writings. He produced his *Minna von Barnhelm* and presented this beautiful drama to the German stage, and it was then seen that it was possible to create a drama without the help of the French. Gottsched had been so overanxious for good taste that he had insisted on the French style, and so people thought there could be nothing finished in writing that was not French. This was the standard he set up and other writers followed him. Lessing worked against this idea and tried to show that the German literature in its real German form is better suited to the German people.

Though Lessing made such a powerful attack against the French drama of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, yet Diderot was back of this movement and urged him on. For it was Diderot who started this criticism and Lessing, who catching the same spirit, followed it up. Hence that which Lessing was striving for, was not so much the banishment of the French drama as it was to overcome the spirit of despotic conventionalities and overwrought attention to style which for a long time had prevailed in Germany and also in England. Francke maintains that it is the critical forge of Diderot we see in

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deutschen National theaters gehabt, ohne zu bedenken, dasz die Deutschen noch gar keine Nation seien; beinahe könne man sagen es sei der Character der Deutschen, keinen eigenen Character haben zu wollen."

Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* and that it was simply for a new humanity and a sound nature that both Lessing and Diderot were standing. Now as this movement was started by Diderot, we must credit the French with the origin of this idea. However, Lessing takes up this movement with the greatest energy in his criticisms on the theatre at Hamburg. Lessing declared that the Germans had no theatre and he said, "What we call theatre is but a puppet show." He said, "I cannot understand how our people who see the poverty of our theatre, where only French pieces or translations of the French are produced, can be such ardent admirers of the French." Then he goes on to say that he thinks that not only the Germans but also those who boast of having a drama—the very best drama in the world—that even the French have no drama and that they certainly have no tragedy, for the French tragedy produces an impression so shallow, so cold! And again Lessing says that it is folly for the Germans to speak of a German national theatre while they as yet have no German nation, that they are still the sworn imitators of the foreigners, and that they are the humble admirers of the never-enough-admired French. He then shows that the existing models, such as Corneille, Voltaire, Diderot, etc., were not suitable to be the foundation of a German national theatre, as they were not in conformity with the real German spirit. Then in the bitterest sarcasm he says:. "Whatever is beyond the Rhine is so charming, beautiful, lovely, and divine. We would rather give up sight and hearing than to think otherwise. We would rather make ourselves accept gayety for grace, etc., than in the least degree question the superiority in all that is

good and beautiful, fitting and useful which this wonderful nation, the first nation in the whole world, as it is pleased to call itself, has received as its share from a just Providence."

How subtle and bitter the sarcasm of Lessing! And how strangely all that he said in the bitterest of scorn has proved itself to be absolutely true for all time to come, though far different from his intended meaning.

For do we not to-day turn to France as a nation superior in all that is good and beautiful, fitting and useful?

Has not France proved herself to be the one great nation favored, as it were, by divine help to withstand the attack of an invading, all-destroying enemy? What other nation could have fought so bravely in this present struggle for freedom?

It is to France we all look to-day for inspiration and help in this great hour of a world wide reconstruction. We turn to her as our leader and ally in our onward striving for a bigger freedom and a truer democracy than the world has ever yet known.

The cutting irony did not banish French from literature, nor did it kill France, for she stands to-day more glorious than ever.

We see how very effective the French influence must have been at this time on Germany, to call forth such bitter remarks from one so just and great as Lessing. It is with the deepest scorn that Lessing looked upon his countrymen for their undue preference for French form and style in their literature. In some of Goethe's works we see also the same idea that the French stood for the highest culture and the best manners. In his *Hermann*

und Dorothea, where Dorothea in speaking of how she may please the father of Hermann, who was somewhat an aristocrat in his ways, Dorothea tells Hermann that she having lived as neighbor to the French, has learned their good manners, hence giving credit to the French for whatever of culture and refinement the German household might possess. This is what Dorothea says:

Dorothea

I in truth shall hope to satisfy both of your parents,
For your mother's character my own nature resembles.
And to external graces have I from my youth been accustom'd.
Our old neighbours, the French, in their earlier days laid much stress on
Courteous demeanour; 'twas common alike to nobles and burghers,
And to peasants, and each enjoin'd it on all his acquaintance.
In the same way, on the side of the Germans, the children were train'd up
Every morning, with plenty of kissing of hands and of courtsies.
To salute their parents and always to act with politeness.*

They not only believed that all culture came from the French, but at the time of the French Revolution, they thought that Paris was the city of the world and that there was liberty, justice, and equality to be found as nowhere else in the world. Let us again quote from *Hermann und Dorothea:*

Who can deny that his heart beat wildly and high in his bosom,

And that with purer pulses his breast more freely was throbbing,
When the newborn sun first rose in the whole of its glory.
When we heard of the right of man, to have all things in common,
Heard of noble Equality, and of inspiring Freedom!
Each man then hoped to attain new life for himself, and the fetters
Which had encircled many a land appear'd to be broken,
Fetters held by the hands of sloth and selfish indulgence.
Did not all nations turn their gaze, in those days of emotion,
Tow'rds the world's capital, which so many a long year had been so,
And then more than ever deserved a name so distinguish'd?
Were not the men, who first proclaim'd so noble a message,
Names that are worthy to rank with the highest the sun ever shone on,
Did not each give to mankind his courage and genius and language?*

In Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm,* we find the same idea and also a long discourse in French, in spite of the fact that Lessing was trying to break away from the French and wanted to establish a German national literature. In his *Miss Sara Sampson* he showed a great manifestation of emotion and feeling in his characters, which might be considered a counterpart to Rousseau's sentimentality. In *Emilia Galotti,*[27] 1772, Lessing gives ex-

*Translated by Bowring.

27. *"Emilia Galotti ist die erste grosze deutsche Tragödie, ein Muster strenger Gesetzmäszigkeit in der Anlage und Durchführung. Es ist hier nicht ein dunkles Geschick, sondern das Thun der Menchen, das den Faden spinnt, den Knoten echüsth und stost."* Kluge *Ger. Lit.,* p. 141.

pression to the popular indignation against the universal oppressions of the middle classes on the part of an unjust and unkind aristocracy and thus he opened the battlefield which is carried out throughout the whole period of the *Sturm und Drangperiode* as we have seen. This revolutionary spirit stirred up and agitated in the classical period of the University at Jena was to bring about in Germany the counterpart to the French Revolution. It was a real striving to do away with the "aristocracy based on birth and privilege and to put in its place a new aristocracy of intellect and culture." Lessing, like Diderot, was ever longing for that spiritual freedom which he believed to be of the utmost importance as the aim and end of the "education of humanity."

Germany, always has been slow in taking up with the new. Though before the war, Germany was taking her place at the head in science and in art, nevertheless, she has been far behind France in the march toward perfection.

France also has taken the lead in maintaining the purity of her language. In France we find the Academy composed of "the Forty Immortals" who give their time and lives to keep up the purity of the French language. Nowhere in the world, unless it is at Madrid, is there even to this day, a similar instance. This may be due to the fact that Germany has not until recently been a political unity. Every little kingdom wanted to set up a kingdom of its own. Before the war, however, Germany saw the importance of doing something of the kind. Again she turned to France for inspiration and tried to keep her language pure, by compelling her actresses and actors to use the same pronunciation all over Germany, and insisting that

this should be the standard of all correct pronunciation, and that none but the pure high German should be used as good German on the stage.

France always has been eager to learn, and it is there we find the oldest university. Already in the eighteenth century students from all over the world flocked there to learn the mysteries of the universe. Who shall measure the early French influence of the thousands upon thousands of eager students who flocked there to sit at the feet of the great and learned masters and to drink in wisdom? It was so inexpensive, then, that young men without money and without price could go and study to their heart's content. All that they needed was a horned spoon, a wooden fork, and a jack-knife. For a time they had to buy their own seats, which consisted in a bundle of straw which they could get for about two cents. The very poorest even shared their seats with their fellow-students. Their food they begged wherever they went. These bodies of eager students sometimes became boisterous and special police were set over them to keep them within bounds. Yet, what was this boisterous spirit, but the exuberance of a healthy mind and body of the sturdy, unsophisticated youth of that day, when people did not seek worldly wisdom, but rather intellectual wisdom? This every-hungry spirit for learning made them a power for culture in later years wherever they went.

A little later, we find the assembly of the learned in the palace of Charles the Great. Then the school in the parlors of the learned Madame Rambouillet,—then the College of France,—the Academy Français,—the Polytechnic schools,—and the Philological Schools of France,—and

finally the great University of the Sorbonne. Thus the French, in all dignity, ever have made themselves felt a power for learning, and ever have proved themselves worthy of the leadership which they have undertaken in the world, and of the influence which they have directly and indirectly brought to bear upon the rest of the world.

While France thus lead even in early times, it was not until the fourteenth century that Peter Ludwig began something approaching the plan of a college for study in Germany. France stands out quite alone in the early days. Thanks be to her for letting the sun of brightness shine in upon all places of darkness, until other nations began to see, and find themselves, and began to follow her example and, likewise, established schools where learning could be pursued by those who were anxious to learn more of the world and its cause for being.

Russia

In 1722, Peter the Great came to France to see the wonders. He was fascinated with the grandeur and the splendour of the court but more especially with the fine manners of the courtiers and the eloquent expressions of their language. When he had been received at the Court he lost no time in pleading for his own country, but asked at once for French leaders and educators to be sent to his own country. This was the beginning of French culture in Russia. Teachers and leaders were sent over there and French was taught extensively, French taste and French manners were cultivated. Hence, after Peter the Great, the French language became very popular. Every one

who pretended to possess some culture, set himself to the learning of French until he could read and speak it well. French became the Court language. All families of wealth had French governesses for their children. This love for French and for French culture has been kept up to the present day. One million people in Russia came thus directly under the influence of French literature and Philosophy. The French now began to take special hold on Russia. The Russian writers made a very close study of the French masters, and being so deeply impressed with the superiority of the French, they naturally imitated them. Even in Tolstoi's family more French than Russian was spoken.

Spain

The influence of the French upon the Spanish literature was gradual up to the latter part of the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it became very strongly marked. When the grandson of Louis XIV came to the throne, French soon became the style everywhere. It was the court language, and the language of the fashionable parlor gatherings. For about a hundred years, nearly all that was written was in French. Whatever little of Spanish literature there was produced, is almost a direct imitation of the French or a translation of it. The much admired and beautiful story *Gil Blas* of Lesage translated by Isla in 1787, so greatly loved, and generally believed to be a masterpiece of Spanish fiction, at least by the classes in Spanish who read it in our schools, is a direct translation from the French.

Philip V, grandson of Louis XIV, after the War of Succession had ended and the Utrecht treaty in 1713 was signed, became ruler in Spain. He was of course, French and was most naturally interested in his own people and language and introduced as much of French manner and ideas as was possible. Philip was quite characteristically French, belonging to the class who thought that there was no other country like France, and he believed sincerely in the centralization of learning. Literature and art had almost died out in the reign of Charles II; there were only a few energetic minds that still kept up the study of the sciences and arts, the majority of the literary people were at a standstill and were satisfied to live on translations from the French rather than to exert themselves to produce anything original. However, Villena, who was Philip's chief ally, was a man of the greatest learning and did much to keep up the literary activity there. They said of him,*"il savait beaucoup, et il était toute sa vie en rapport la plus part de delius les savants des divers pays de l'Europe."* And again it was said of him, *"il etait un homme bon, doux honnete, enfin laprobite, la vertu même."*

In 1714, the Spanish Academy was established and Villena was made director and was very active in the interests of the Academy. In 1711 the Biblioteca Nacional was established. In 1780 the Academy of History under Augustine de Montiano was founded which also bears testimony to the effect of French influence. In English and German literature, we have already traced the predominance of French literature in the eighteenth century. Just as in Germany, Frederic the Great and many of the leading men

of his time were entirely under the French influence, so in Spain the masters of learning with a French king at the head, became greatly affected by the French.

Besides the many translations from the French into the Spanish, there were many other books written pretending to be Spanish works when it can clearly be shown that they were mere imitations. There was the book *El Honrador de su padre,* 1654, which was so much admired by the French as well as the Spanish, and yet it was nothing more than a translation of *Cid* published under that new title. Then we might call attention to the book (1680) under the title of *El Labrador Gentil Hombre,* which was simply a somewhat free translation, with some changes, of Moliere's *Bourgeois gentil homme.* So also were translations of Moliere's *Les Femmes savantes* and Corneilles *Rodogune, Cinna,* and other fine plays, played on the stage in Spain. Some of Racine's pieces, such as *Iphigenie,* were also translated and perhaps changed a little and given on the Spanish stage.

The Spanish are said not only to have imitated the French, and translated their works, but that they gave many French plays as though they were their own. The German and English did not do this. They thoroughly assimilated the French and its style and then produced works of their own. The celebrated Madame Ursins greatly enhanced French influence at the court. She was a strong advocate of French culture, and was especially interested in the stage. There were, of course, some Spanish books written at this time but they were not very good and so scarcely outlived their day. Among these writers were Jose Leon, Mansilla, Maria del Cielo, and Gerado

Lobo. Most of their books lacked the qualities that should give them lasting merits.

However, there were some few writers of great merit, among whom we might mention, Ignacio de Luzan, and Lodovico Muratori, who wrote *Della perfette poesia.* Luzan's teachings are said by a great literary critic to have followed the same trend of thought and leaned towards the same doctrines as those of Boileau and his descriptive criticisms are acute and keen. Perhaps Henito Geranimo who lived from 1675-1764 was the greatest writer, yet he imitated the French writers and so lacked independence of thought. Nicolas Ferdinandez de Moratin 1737-1780 made dramas in the style of Racine, imitating him as well as he could. Felix Maria de Samanicego 1745-1801 was educated entirely in French and did not even like Spanish. Samanicego's *Fabulas* were nearly all imitations of La Fontaine's *Fables.* Jose Llanos' play *El delicuente Honrado,* 1774 is somewhat after the style of Diderot in his *Fils Naturel.* Melendez at the time of the innovation of the French began by writing verses in which he plead with his people to come to arms to the help of Spain and ended by taking service under the foreign government. Moratin, imitating Moliere, wrote *El si de las ninas* which is a humorous piece of a great deal of merit.

In the nineteenth century, French influence kept on increasing. "The war of the succession, the invasion of 1808, the Expedition of 1823, the contrivance of the Spanish marriages show that Louis XIV, Napoleon I, Charles X, Louis Philippe dared not loose their grip on Spain."

And in 1870-1871 when it was proposed to put a Hohenzollern prince on the throne, the French cried out

against Alfonso Uhland. France, they said, will not surely denounce her traditional prestige in diplomacy which for over two hundred years she has held under different kinds of governments, and hence we are led to believe that she will continue her literary as well as her political influence over all countries, but more especially over Spain. "French literary fashions affect all of Europe more or less, they affect Spain more."[28]

Martinez de la Rosa wrote his best pieces while an exile in Paris. His *Aben-Humeya* was first written in French and his *Conjuracion de Venecia* was first played at the Porte Saint Martin, which shows that French Romanticism was early introduced into Spain. The national poet Manual Quintana was French in everything except in patriotic sentiment. One of the greatest writers was Mariano Jose de Larra, 1809-1837, who was also strongly under the French influence as he was the son of an officer of the French army. Larra, though his Spanish is most idiomatic, he knew only French until he was past ten years of age. He took the name Figaro in his philosophical writings. This name of French origin also shows how the French clung to him. The French influence may have been very helpful to Spain, as there was but little of old literature there to build on, and so the French writings cleared the way for a new development. As the creative spirits of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could not be revived, was it not better to follow the other countries in allowing French culture and refinement to stream in upon them and so to open up a rich and new vein in Spanish literature?

28. See Kelly's Spanish Literature on this period.

CHAPTER V

Fifth Period

MADAME DE STAEL, daughter of the celebrated minister Necker, plays an important part in this period of French literature and politics. She was well versed in the state affairs of France. In the society of her father and other wise men of the court, she gained much valuable knowledge which made her one of the most interesting as well as greatest writers of her time. She was an ardent admirer and a disciple of Rousseau, and her writings concerning the character and works of Rousseau are full of valuable information, and are of lasting merit. At the time of the Revolution, she sympathized with the movement but disapproved of going to excess. In 1802 she published her novel *Delphine,* in which she portrays a superior woman who followed the promptings of a higher intellectual activity, rather than the narrow régime prescribed by society. In this work she voices many of the ideas of Rousseau. In 1802, Madame de Stael went to Weimar where she studied the German language and literature. It was also here at Weimar that she made the acquaintance of Goethe, Schiller, and Weiland. From Weimar she went to Geneva where learned men at that time were wont to meet. There, as at Weimar, she met and associated with the great and renowned men of letters on whom she exerted a great influence. In the year 1805, she wrote *Corinne,* her greatest work. After spending

some time in Italy and again in Germany, she returned to France for some time. Her personal influence, as well as that of her works, was immeasurably great. She was attractive in appearance and charming in her manners. She is spoken of in the French literature as the "beautiful soul." Let us quote a few lines from Helene Lange's *L'histoire de la Litterature francaise*: *"ce qu 'il y a de plus admirable dans cette organisation privilégié, c'est la fusion intime entre l'esprit, le sentiment et l'imagination; et ce qui offre en elle un charme de plus, c'est qu'elle reste toujours femme."* Madame de Stael gave freely of her beautiful soul to all with whom she came in contact. Inasmuch as she had lived in several countries at different times, she came into close touch with people of many nations. She lived in Germany, France, and Italy; also passed much time in Vienna, Moscow, and London. She worked everywhere for the coalition against Napoleon.

In 1813 she published *De l'Allemagne* an eloquent account of Germany, its people and literature. It is an excellent work and is much admired in Germany to this day. It is also read in schools in connection with the study of German literature of modern times. In 1815 she published *Considérations sur la Révolution française*. After the fall of Napoleon, her brilliant salons at Paris were again opened where she once more became the literary spirit which attracted the great scholars of different nations to her and brought them thus directly under the best of French influence. In her *Dix Années d' Exil* she herself tells of her voyages and her opposition to Napoleon. It is easy to see how so great a women with such wonderful literary talents and such a charming personality should

have exerted so extensive an influence over the various countries in which she lived. She was strongly attached to the principles of liberty and noted for her faith in the perfection of the human spirit.

Chateaubriand 1768-1848

Chateaubriand[1] was one of the greatest writers of the nineteenth century. He travelled much in America and later also in England where in 1797 he published his *Essai sur la Revolution.* During his stay in England he taught French and so enriched his pupils not only in the language but also in the ideas of the French as to culture and refinement. In 1802 he published his *le Genie du Christianisme.* This was his greatest work and was said to have prepared the way for a sort of restoration of religion. Let us quote from Nelson's Encyclopaedia:

Chateaubriand's aim was to demonstrate the beauty of Christianity as found in art and letters, and that Christianity aids genius, purifies taste, gives vigour to thought and offers noble forms to the artist. He was the first man of his era to perceive the beauty of Gothic architecture, and the beauty of the monuments of the middle ages. In 1808 René was published. This book also created a deep impression, and it may be said to have created the sentiment which gave birth to 'Childe Harold' and the

1. *"Si. Mme. deStael peut deja être regardée comme un des precurseurs du romantisme en France, Chateaubriand, par ses qualites comme par défants, peut en être regardé comme le père: Lamartine et Victor Hugo en proviennent. Il mèrite ainse la double gloire d'avoir commencé la restauration morale et religieuse du dix-neuvième siècte dans saon pays et donné le signal de la révolution littéraire." H. Lange Fr. Lit.,* p. 106.

Byronic mood in poetry. In 1822 he was French Ambassador in London.

He wielded an immeasurably great influence in England which cannot be over-estimated.

Joseph Maitre, 1754-1821

Joseph de Maitre's works are tinged with high political considerations, and involve complete papal supremacy and show principles of theocracy. He wrote *'Generateur des Constitutions Politiques'* in 1810. He was ambassador to St. Petersburg, in 1803, where he further encouraged the French by his presence as well as by his works. Xavier de Maitre belongs to the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. He made himself famous by his charming little novels, which were quite remarkable for elegance of style. *'Voyage autour de ma chambre'* is one of his best works and is read in the schools and colleges today. Through these works the French in our schools has been made interesting and popular.

After the Restoration

We are now to speak of Beranger, the great songster, the most popular poet of France, and one who belongs entirely to the people. Beranger, though a patriotic writer never mixes in politics. The songs of Beranger are pleasing and graceful, and he by many is considered the most pleasing of French poets. *"Les chansons de Beranger sont gaies, pleines d'elan, gracieuses: c'est la poésie française par excellence."* (Lange's Hist. Fr. Lit., p. 113). Accord-

ing to Nelson, he is the greatest song writer. He held a clerkship in the office of the Imperial University where he met other men of learning, who became interested in his songs, such as his world renowned song, *Petit Homme Gris, Roi d'Yvetot* and *Les Enfant de la France.* Some of his songs were full of bitter sarcasm and hostilities to the priests. He was imprisoned for printing these. Nelson says: "This made him the popular idol, and he exercised more political influence than any man of his time. In 1825 Beranger published *Chansons Nouvelles,* and in 1828 *Chansons Inedites,* for which he was imprisoned at La Foce. He was visited in his cell by Hugo, Dumas, Saint-Beuve, and others. His songs were full of wit and pathos, and were admired by the French and foreigners alike.

Victor Hugo, 1802-1885

We might also mention Victor Hugo, who belongs to this period and whose works are read and known to all college students. His works such as *Hernani, Maria Tudor, Roy Blas, Notre-Dame de Paris,* and *Les Miserables,* have been translated into many languages and are very generally read in our colleges and universities. Victor Hugo, though a leader in the romantic school, hated conventionality, and was constantly striving for liberty. His works have been so universally read that they have exerted a great influence over many countries.

England

The influence of French literature on England, became quite marked at the time of the Norman Conquest, when

Wilhelm the Conqueror invaded England; French ideas, manners, culture, and refinement were then introduced. We will note some of the main changes that took place, as they are given by Welsh in his history of English literature on page 10.

I. With it came the introduction of chivalry.[2]

II. The introduction of French speech. French became the language of the court. Until the middle of the fourteenth century French was used in the schools.

III. The introduction of French schools.[3]

IV. The introduction of French poetry. "The Normans loved only French ideas and French verses."

V. Expulsion of the English language from literature and culture. English was not spoken in cultured society but was a sign of servitude. Hence families of wealth sent their children to Paris to "preserve them from barbarism." A man was considered a barbarian and not a gentleman if he could not speak French. In the universities students were obliged to converse in French or Latin. Great stress was also laid on the learning of French manners and taste.[4]

Some people who wished to be thought a little better than their neighbors, learned French for mere show. "Gentilmen children beeth taught to spake Frenche from the tyme they bith rokked in hire cradell . . . and

2. From the French *cheval* meaning horse.

3. Five hundred and sixty-seven schools were established from the time of the Conquest to the time of the death of king John (1216). Welsh Hist. of Eng. Lit., p. 19.

4. "Children in schole, agenst the usage and manir of all other nations, beeth compelled for to leave here owne langage, and for to construe hir lessons and hir thynges in Frenche, and so they haveth sethe Normans came first into England."

uplandish men will likne himself to gentylmen, and fondeth with great besynesse for to speke Frenche to be told of." For nearly three hundred years the French language and customs were the standard for people of refinement and culture. We still perceive the influence of this by the many French words current in the English language to this day. Welsh's literature on page 52 says:

"Its influence was very great, both by introduction of many new words and by changing the spelling and sound of many old ones. . . . In the thirteenth century, French acquired that widely diffused currency as a generally known, and hence convenient common medium which it has ever since maintained. A Venetian annalist of the time composed his chronicle in it, because, to use his own words: 'The French tongue is current throughout the world, and is more delectable to read and to hear than any other.' "[5]

Dante's teacher used French and thus apologized for using it instead of Italian. "If any one shall ask why this book is written in Romance, according to the patois of France, I, being born Italian, will say it is for divers reasons. The one is that I am now in France; the other is that French is the most delightsome of all tongues, and partaketh most of the common nature of all other languages." By this we see that French was quite generally used in all of Europe, among the better classes of people. The popular literature of the middle ages also came from the French and Italian sources. The *minstrel* poets or the *trouvers* found their way into England. They sang the

5. See Welsh's History of Literature, p. 104. See also p. 4 of this work.

praises of the kings and nobles. "No wonder that they were caressed and richly rewarded,—First in France where they were native; then in England where they were transplanted," Welsh, p. 111. In the emancipation of thought and freedom from the enslaved intellect, it was again the university of Paris that took the lead. "None of the universities grew so early into fame as that of Paris, unrivalled for theological discussions. Here the Rationalism of Abelard, the 'Knight-errant' of philosophy, drew down the menaces of councils and the thunders of Rome." Welsh, p. 87.

The influence of the Renaissance entered England through the French. It was Erasmus, one of the most powerful instruments of the new learning, and the interpreter of the Renaissance who, when coming from the university of Paris, on a visit to Oxford, gave inspiration to classical learning there. He met John Colet there, who also was a lover of the new learning, and whom he powerfully impressed with his views and high aspirations. Colet now more powerful and zealously advocated Rationalism in England. Of the Nominalists, Roscelin was the first distinguished advocate. Welsh, p. 131.

He was persecuted and fled to England where he brought his ideas on Rationalism to bear on the philosophers whom he met there.

Descartes, the father of modern philosophy, has done so much for science and philosophy that even if he were the only great Frenchman, the French might rightly be proud of their country. His *method* as has already been stated, created a revolution in thought. Descartes in his *Discourse on Method,* declares that our senses, memory, and

even the reasoning faculties deceive us, and hence he makes universal doubt the point of departure for a new system of reasoning. As the fundamental starting point for all other truths as we have considered in our discussion of Rationalism and Humanism, he makes this one fact which is known to all, the foundation of all reasoning, "I think, therefore I exist." This he lays down as the first axiom. As this truth is known, he says, it needs no syllogism to prove it. He has now one truth to start with. Then as a rule he gives this: "Never to accept any statement as true which you yourself cannot see to be true." This he makes a second rule: "To divide each difficulty into as many parts as possible in order to solve it the more easily." The third rule is: "To begin with the most simply and easily understood ideas, ascending by degrees to the more complex." A fourth rule is: "All the parts however small, should be carefully numbered and systematically arranged, so as to be sure no part had been overlooked." He would make philosophy as exact as mathematics.

"*The Discourse on Method* was completed by three other works on dioptrics, meteors, and geometry, as examples of his method as applied to science. . . . The first describes the mathematical principles which should govern the construction of lenses for telescopes; the second contains, among other things, the earliest complete description of the cause of a rainbow; the third is the most important work, and with the *Discourse on Method* contains to most enduring monument of Descartes's genius. He simplifies the investigation of curves and their corresponding equations by a system of co-ordinate lines, and by the same method brings the solution of negative equations within

the scope of analytical geometry. . . . Algebra owes to Descartes a simpler notation, the method of indeterminate co-efficients, and the first sketch of the theory of equal roots. He applied Algebra to Geometry, thus forming a new science,—analytical geometry.

In his principles of philosophy he has laid down several natural laws: first, that all bodies remain in their existing state of rest or motion unless acted upon by extraneous causes; secondly, that all simple or elementary motion is always in a straight line; space has no limits and is full of matter; a vacuum cannot exist, nor can matter be divided into ultimate atoms. His *Theory of Vortices* did away with that of Aristotle and paved the way for Newton's discovery of gravitation. He started on the ground that the whole universe is filled with matter which is uniform in character, and then assumed that the motion given to this matter by the infinite power of God produces a host of more or less circular movements, forming vortices or whirlpools of matter, and that in the centre of the vortex a sun or star is formed." (Wood's *Hundred Great Men*, pp. 230-231).

This may have been the starting point for Locke, when he claims that all knowledge is gained through experience, that the mind is a blank until it is touched by some outside experience gained through the sense perception. While Locke said that all knowledge is gained through the senses, Descartes recognizes the difference of spirit and matter—the thinking and the extended substance. He made much of the innate ideas in man,[6] a theory which now plays an important part in psychology and in physiology. These

6. "If any event can be foreseen before it has been tried, it is manifest, that we, contribute something for our own parts, Ergo, mere experience does not constitute all our knowledge." *Lewis Hist. of Phil.*, p. 543.

sciences were not so well known then as now, and may it not be that Descartes since he was the first to lay so much stress on innate ideas, gave the inspiration to the theory of inherited tendencies? Descartes occasionalism, received its complete development in the preëstablished harmony on Liebnitz.[7]

"Occasionalism the principle of which was, that body and mind do not really affect each other, God being always the true cause of the occasional influence of the one or the other. This doctrine received its complete development in the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz." (International Encyclo.)

Thus this doctrine of Descartes was propagated in Germany by Leibnitz. It seems that Locke did not read much but found time for Descartes.

"He was attracted by Descartes. The first books, he told Lady Masham which gave him a relish for philosophy, were those of this philosopher, although he often differed from him." (*Enclyco. Brit.,* Vol. 16, p. 884.)

Locke was also much interested in Malbranche's *Recherche de la Verity* which had appeared in 1675. While Locke was at Montpellier he spent much time reading Malbranche's works. But we know that Malbranche was a close follower of Descartes. To prove this more accurately let us quote from the Encyclopaedia Britannica:

Malbranche (1638-1715) chanced to read Descartes's

7. "Leibnitz had other than political ends in view, in his visit to France. It was as the centre of Literature and science that Paris chiefly attracted him." Brit., Vol. 16, p. 385.

Traite de l'homme which moved him so deeply that he was repeatedly compelled by palpitation of the heart to lay aside the reading. And after ten years of study of Descartes, he wrote his famous *De la Recherche de la Verité,* which work we have seen produced a great impression on Locke.[8]

In 1683 Locke retired to Holland, where he spent some time in "an examination of Malbranche's *Opinion of Seeing all Things in God,* and in *Remarks upon some of Mr. Norri's Books,* tracts which throw light upon his own ambiguous theory of perception through the senses," Brit., Vol. 16, p. 846. Locke no doubt exerted a great influence on D'Alembert and Condorcet, yet they in turn affected a great influence on Bolingbrook and Chesterfield.[9] (Cambridge's *Modern History,* p. 70.) Yet in regard to the doctrine of the free will, it was Descartes who stood back of them all. (Cambridge's Modern Hist., Vol. V, p. 66.) Condorcet was also an ardent admirer of Voltaire, and made a deep study of his philosophy. (Wright's *Hist. Lit.,* p. 563.) David Hume studied and worked in France, and it was there that he wrote his famous book *A Treatise of Human Nature.* In his philosophy, he distinguishes between impressions and ideas and so diverts from the theory of Locke, and seems to partake somewhat of that of Descartes. David Hume was fully appreciated in France and his ideas on scepticism took well there. He

8. "Locke preferred Descartes to Aristotle," Brit. Encyclopaedia.

9. "Locke made no grand new discovery, which changed the face of science. He was not even the first to turn his glance inward; Descartes and Hobbs had been before him." Lewis Hist. Phil., p. 516.

was received among the learned men and women of Paris. Earl of Hertford made him his secretary to the embassy to Paris. He loved the French people and their manners. The philosopher who had but little enjoyed the society of the official circles of England was perfectly charmed with the literary society of Paris. His fame had gone before him and when he came to Paris, he was welcomed everywhere. In his letter to Robertson-Burton II, 178, he speaks of the factious barbarians of London, and speaks in charming terms, and with a warm admiration of the French. "Observing on what a different footing learning and the learned are here, from what they are among the factious barbarians above mentioned."[10] He was in turn very earnestly loved by the French. His History already had been much applauded by such men as Voltaire and Rousseau. He very rapidly absorbed the French culture and manners and when he returned to England, he was almost French himself. He spoke and wrote French well. He was very fond of Rousseau whom, out of kindness as well as love for him, he brought with him to England. Although this friendship did not last, yet Rousseau exerted a great influence over him. Hume was interested in the formation of The Select Society of Edinburgh, which was constituted on the style of the French Academy. His friend Adam Smith made the opening speech there. In scepticism Hume shared the ideas of Voltaire. These ideas were then quite general, as we have seen, in Paris, and formed the bases for discussions there among the learned circles.

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10. From Calderwood on David Hume.

Hume's chief work, in philosophy, was to rid it of error and confusion. He wanted to place before men a simple and complete exposition of experiences, guarded at every point by an unhesitating and bold scepticism as to everything that will go beyond experience. This is the meaning of Hume's scepticism and in this we see Descartes's rule of not accepting that which we do not know to be true, cannot prove to be true.

Of Voltaire's influence on Germany, we have spoken at length. He also wielded an immense influence over England both by his correspondence with his many literary friends there and also by living there as he did for some time. In a letter to Mr. John Hervy in 1740, Voltaire himself speaks of the influence of France on England. He says:

Songez, milord, que sans le voyage et les expériences de ceux qu'il envoya à Cayenne, en 1672, *et sans les mesures de M. Picard, jamais Newton n'eut fait ses découvertes sur l'attraction. Regardez, je vous prie, un Cassini et un Huygens, qui renoncent tous deux leur patrie qu'ils honorent, pour venir en France jouir de l'estime et des bienfaits de Louis XIV. Et pensez-vous que les Anglais mêmes ne lui aient pas d'obligation? Dites-moi, je vous prie, dans quelle cour Charles II puisa tant de politesse et tant de goût. Les bons auteurs de Louis XIV n'ont-ils pas été vos modèles N'est-ce pas d'eux que votre sage Addition, l'homme de voir nation qui avait le goût le plus sûr, a tiré souvent ses excellentes critques? L'évêque Burnet avoua que ce goût, acquis en France par les courtisans de Charles II, reforma chez vous jusqu à la chaire malgré la différence de nos religions: tant la saine raison a partout d'empire!*

Dites-moi si les bons livres de ce temps n'ont pas servi à

l'éducation de tous les princes de l'empire. Dans quelles cours de l'Allemagne n'a-t-on pas vu des théâtres français? Quel prince ne tâchait pas d'imiter Louis XIV? Quelle nation ne suivait pas alors les modes de la France? Louis XIV a instruit les nations; tout, jusqu 'a ses fautes leur a été utile. Des protestants, qui ont quitté ses Etats ont porté chez vous-mêmes une industrie qui faisait la richesse de la France. Comptez-vous pour rien tant de manufactures de soie et de cristaux? Ces dernières surtout furent perfectionnées chez vous par nos refugiés, et nous avanos perdu ce que vous avez acquis. Enfin la language française, milord, est devenue presque la langue universelle.

Mark the predominance of French. He says that French had become almost the universal language. Then he goes on to say:

Ce sont excellents écrivains qui ont fait cela. Je ne considère pas seulement Louis XIV parce qu'il a fait du bien aux Français, mais parce qu'il a fait du bien aux hommes. Il a choisi Lulli pour son musicien et ota le privilège à Cambert, parce que Cambert était un homme médiocre, et Lulli un homme supérieur. Il savait distinguer l'esprit du génie; il donna à Quinault les sujets de ses opéras; il dirigeat les peintures de Lebrun; il soutint Boileau, Racine et Moliere contre leurs ennemis; il encouragea les arts utiles comme les beaux-arts, belles lettres, et toujours en connaissance de cause; il prêta de l'argent à Van Robais pour établir ses manufactures, il avança des millions à la compagnie des Indes, qu'il avait formée; il donna des pensions aux savants et aux braves officiers. C'est encore plus d'un grand siècle que d'un grand roi que j'écris l'histoire.[11]

What could more clearly show the wonderful influence

11. Voltaire's Selected Letters by Syms, p. 83.

France has had on other countries until at this golden age of literature and art she had reached supremacy? We must also remember that these letters were not written by one who was accustomed merely to guess at things, but by one who was careful of his statements, and by one who had visited many countries and knew what he was saying.

Gibbon, the historian, also came under French influence. In his historical writings, he shows a certain contempt for theological doctrines prevalent in France at that time, and he no doubt reflects the French infidelity.

The influence is reproduced more conspicuously in Paine a politician and a creature of the Revolution, who derives his doctrines from the English deists, his ribaldry from Voltaire, and his politics from Rousseau. . . . The French spirit animates literature in the poetry of Byron and Shelly; the one, a type of the scepticism of despair, the other of the madness of enthusiasm: the one drawn down to earth, the other lifted up into the ideal.[12]

Wordsworth also visited France and was inspired by French thought.

From seventeen hundred onwards, England came under the French influence in a very clear and unmistakable manner. Addison is the pupil of Boileau, more gifted, more refined, and more brilliant than his master, but still never forgetful of his master's teachings.

Again Welsh goes on to say:

Pope who has inevitably been much imitated in France, owed much to her in his earlier days. The style and man-

12. Welsh Mod. Hist. of Lit., p. 312.

ner of his letters remind us of Balzac and of Voltaire; his moral poems have the precise turn of wit characteristic of Boileau; he represents as it were the transition between Boileau and Voltaire; moreover, the *Dunciad* reads as though it were copied from the Lutrin, the evident relationship between the two poems being shown in their close similarity of style. These great names must be supplemented by those of Walter, the correspondent of La Fontaine, in whom we might almost say was revived all that was finest in our witty *précieux* of the seventeenth century; Garth, the amusing humorist, who recalls the French burlesques, and whose works Voltaire so highly appreciated as to translate some of them; Arbuthnot, Gay, Lord Bollingbroke, Lord Chesterfield. . . .[13]

These English humorists of the early eighteenth century owe very much to the French writers. Thus we see that France led in literature and philosophy. She may claim as much for science. In the latter part of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century, France was the foremost in science. The great students from all over the world directed their gaze to Paris, as the only place for the deep and thorough study of modern methods, and where the new and great scientific ideas were collected to a focus. Paris remained the centre of scientific investigation and thought for more than half a century.[14] It was here that the foundation of nearly all the modern sciences was laid. The many problems of Newton's *Principia* were treated to some extent by Clairault.

For a full announcement of its scientific value and its

13. Welsh Modern History of Literature, p. 70-71.
14. See Merz's History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century, p. 96.

hidden resources we are indebted to Laplace, whose *Mecanique Celeste* was the first comprehensive elaboration of Newton's ideas, and whose *Systeme du Monde* became the scientific gospel of a whole generation of Continental thinkers.[15]

Not only the scientists, but all thinkers in France, were at this time greatly interested in mathematics and in all of the sciences.[16]

No other country could at the end of the eighteenth century boast of such splendid means of scientific instruction as then existed in Paris. (Merz., p. 104.)

The great schools of Paris ever have been her just pride. Most of these schools still exist for the glory of the French, and the benefit of all, and bear proof to the high spirit and the loftiness of the ideals of the French nation.

Science can boast of having been worthily represented and supported in the two great schools which still bear their original designation, and which can and which do show a record of celebrated names and magnificent works superior probably to those of any other similar institutions in Europe. They are the *Ecole normale superieure* and the *Ecole centrale des Travaux publics,* better known by the title *Ecole polytechnique.* The founders of these magnificent institutions recognized that in spite of applications, mathematics and physics are the indispensable basis of the studies in view.[17]

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15. Hist. of Eu. Thought in the 19th Cent. by Merz, p. 96.
16. "The Paris Academy had as far back as 1671, received the funds with which to commence its labours in connection with the survey of the kingdom and its extensive dependencies." Merz, p. 99.
17. See also Merz, p. 104.

It has well been said that but few works have been more extensively read, or more generally appreciated, than Laplace's *Essai philosophique sur les Probabilities,* and the *Systeme du Monde* by the same author. The French were indeed the leaders in the advancement of the exact sciences, and in this respect did a great work for the world.[18] John Herschel has also said that if all the literature of Europe were to perish, with the exception of the two essays mentioned above, namely, Laplace's *Systeme du Monde* and *Essai philosophique sur les Probabilites,* they alone would suffice to convey to the latest posterity an impression of the intellectual greatness of the age which could produce them, surpassing that afforded by all the monuments that antiquity has left us. Another great representative of French science is George Cuvier. Through these two great men, the exact scientific spirit asserted itself and through their efforts it made its made through all of civlized Europe. (Merz's *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.*) France spared neither time nor money in perfecting her scientific schools and we owe very much to her patient investigations in the field of higher mathematics. Let us quote from Merz: "No learned body did more to perfect the study of higher calculus than the Paris Academicians." p. 191.

The French writers of the seventeenth century made themselves felt throughout all of Europe, in science, politics, literature and art.

It was a glorious era in French history, however it may

18. See also Merz's History of Eu. Thought of the 19th Cent., p. 104.

be regarded, according to the standpoint of the nationality of the student; as had been the thirteenth century, so again in the seventeenth France was unanimously acclaimed the intellectual sovereign of Europe, all eyes being turned towards her, and all ears listening for her action. The predominant influence of French literature is every where perceptible; for a time its prestige blocked the way and arrested the action of every individual impulse, every national movement, in the literary history of every nation. (Welsh's *Modern History,* p. 71.)

Welsh thus has given us a complete picture of the greatness of France and her immense influence on all of Europe. It seems we can say no more. Nevertheless, let us also hear what Henry Wakeman says:

From the court of Louis XIV flowed out influences far more potent than those which followed the feet of his soldiers or the coaches of his diplomatists. Versailles set the fashion to the civilized world. French manners, French dress, French speech, French art, French literature, French preaching, and French science became the property and the models of civilized Europe. For a hundred years every department of life, from the turning of a couplet to the training of recruits, from the composition of a panegyric to the designing of a card table everything is ruled by the French instinct of order, cramped by the French love of artificial completeness, refined by the French genius for finish, illuminated by the justness of French taste. There are few kings to whom it has been given to dictate to civilization for a century the principles by which she is to live.

CHAPTER VI

Bergson at the College of France

EVEN to-day we turn to France who leads us into the light of a new field of philosophy—that of Bergson. The Bergson philosophy the philosophy of change, differs from the school of the realists who claim that knowledge lies in the outside world of space—outside of ourselves, as well as from that of the idealists who say that knowledge lies within us—in the human mind. Bergson contends that knowledge is based on intuition, which is a part of life itself; that life is the reality for which life is, and that nature takes up the order which knowledge discovers; that in as much as knowledge is for life and not life for knowledge the first and most important thing is to understand the real meaning of life. Bergson says that life is a continuous moving on, ever changing, ever becoming; that the past gathered up into the present moves on into the future; that life is a never repeating ever becoming reality; this onward movement preserves the past, picks up the present and creates the future.

Bergson says where there is life, there is change. Should change cease life would cease.

The Universe is not a perfect complete system but is itself a continuous becoming and ever changing reality: that reality is not matter nor is it mind but is itself a creative living evolution; that our knowledge is not based on the purely intellectual but rather on intuition. This

intuition is of itself life, and that intellect is formed from it by life itself. Life creates intuition and intellect which guide and direct the activities of all creatures endowed with it.

Bergson, at the College of France, is sending his philosophy into all parts of the world. His three great works *"Time and Freewill," "Matter and Memory"* and *"Creative Evolution"* will certainly have a tremendous influence in the right direction upon all thinking nations.

What more can we say? It was French science, French philosophy, French literature and French art that ruled the world. An individual perfect in manners, in education and taste cannot live among the uncultured men of any class without becoming the ruling power, without letting his light shine to the benefit of those around him. No more can a nation. France was earnestly striving towards perfection at this time, and must necessarily let her beacon light shine in all directions affecting brightness and culture among all the enlightened and appreciative nations at this time. All the nations that lived within the radius of the brilliant literary lights of France could not help being influenced by her high culture and her lofty ideals. In England this influence was felt from the earliest times to the present, but was especially strong in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Germany it was most potent from the time of the ThirtyYears' War to the year 1760, or to the time of Lessing's power over the German theatre; for Lessing may be said to have been the one who tried to banish French influence from Germany. In Spain it was pre-eminently great in the beginning of the eighteenth century and lasted up to about the middle of the nine-

teenth.

Whither shall this influence lead us? Thoughts of so great a people cannot die! We feel their influence all around us, in science, in mathematics and all kinds of weights and measurements which are so much needed in our modern civilization and in the government of the great nations of today; in the natural sciences that have wrought such reform in botany and in agriculture; and in the medical science so well founded and carried on in the old Academy of Sciences. Merz says:

Fontenelle, separated the departments of science and metaphysics . . . and in his connection with the Academy Française he did perhaps more than any other writer to establish the superiority of style and clearness of diction for which the great French men of science are so remarkable and so superior.

The first representative of this academic spirit and culture was Fontenelle, who, living during a hundred years, from 1657-1757, was secretary of the Academie des Sciences during forty-two years from 1699-1741. Among his successors were men like Condorcet, Cuvier, and Argo. (Merz *History of Eu. Thought in 19th Cent.*, p. 134.) See foot note Merz, p. 134.

For further information on what France has done for us in the medical science see also Merz, on page 122 and also page 135, a part of which we will now quote:

Allied with this institution, and directly inspired by its spirit, were the great schools of natural science, the collections of natural objects, later also the great medical institutions of France.

How shall we be able to estimate the value of these early

schools of science and the careful and painstaking labors of the great French scientists? We believe that many of the later and important discoveries and inventions could not have been possible without them.

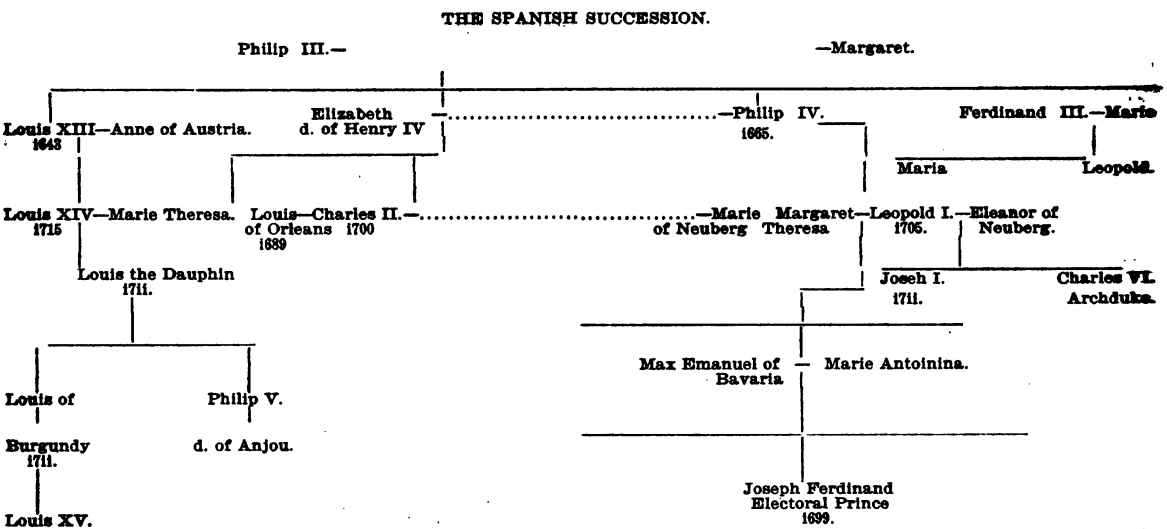
Who can measure the good done by these men? Who can ever fully appreciate the influence of the makers of the French literature of the Golden Age? We still hear their gentle tones in the sweetest of all spoken languages. Their influence is brought to us in the tender voice and the pleasing accents of their beautiful songs and poetry, true gems of the highest form of literature!

As Joan of Arc amid the apple trees
With sacred joy first heard the voices, then
Obeying plunged at Orleans in a field
Of spears and lived her dream and died in fire,
Thou, France, hast heard the voices and has lived
The dream and known the meaning of the dream,
And read its riddle: how the soul of man
May to one greatest purpose make itself
A lens of clearness, how it loves the cup
Of deepest truth, and how its bitterest gall
Turns sweet to soul's surrender.

Edgar Lee Masters.

As France has been in the past, so may she continue to be in the future, the reigning queen of polite literature, quietly, yet in a thousand ways, exerting her influence for refinement and culture. Vive la France!

SPANISH AND FRENCH MARRIAGES



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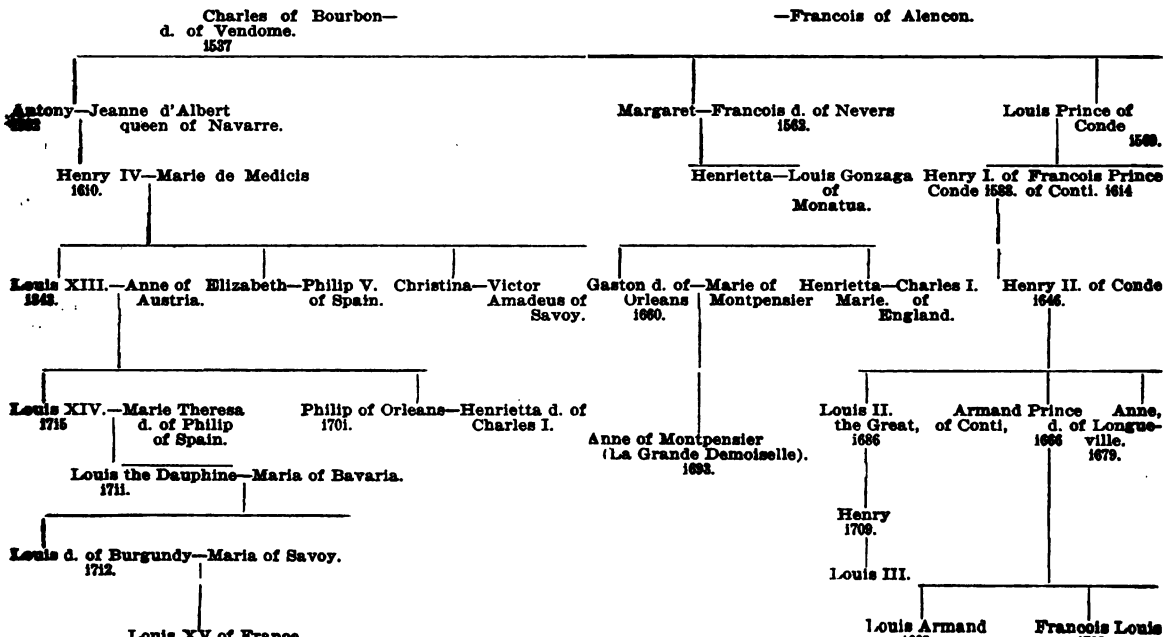

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